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American Social Science Series

UNDER THE EDITORSHIP OF

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TO

MY FATHER AND MY MOTHER

WILLIAM PLEASANTS AND MARY THOMAS ODUM

PREFACE

This study of man's quest for social guidance is the result of more than a decade of experience in college and university classes and in extension groups of citizens and teachers. The complete plan of study, the classification of fundamentals, and the mechanical essentials, we have presented in the introductory approach of the first two chapters. There has been needed for a long time a volume of sufficiently comprehensive scope, content, and unity, and of such definitely arranged divisions as to meet the demands for a full college course in social problems or a course introducing the social sciences. There is great need, too, for an orientation course not only for college men and women, but also for the increasingly large number of mature folk eagerly interested in bridging the distance between yesterday and to-day. With these requirements has come also the demand that the range and substance of such study should encompass a reasonable representation of the best authorities and sources rather than the generalization of one or a few individuals. In text, topic, and readings we have tried to meet these demands in such way as to permit of extensive or limited study in accordance with specific needs and wishes of class or individual.

Although this volume introduces the major problems which face society in its struggle for better social guidance, there must necessarily be definite limitations to its scope and reach. Thus the challenging problems of social waste and maladjustment are given peculiar emphasis but are presented only in outline, leaving the larger field of social pathology to special texts in this series. The fields of international and industrial relations, of especial importance in the structure of this book, require nevertheless more technical study than could be completed in an introductory course. Many current and rapidly changing situations, such as those of prohibition in the United States or of conflict in China, are represented primarily by readings, questions, and topics. Throughout the book the effort has been made to present an effective approach

which will enable the student both to understand the organic relationships involved and to proceed in effective ways to take his part in further scientific study or in the tasks of social adjustment and guidance. And because of the comprehensive nature of the book, and of these self-imposed limitations, special effort has been made to insure the reader adequate reference and selections from a wide range of current literature.

A little of the material in this volume has been presented in substance in *Social Forces*, *The Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, *The Journal of Race Development*, the *Ohio Welfare Bulletin*, Volume IV of *An Outline of Christianity*, and University of North Carolina bulletins on *Attainable Standards in Municipal Government*, *Community and Government*, *Constructive Ventures in Government*, for which due acknowledgment is made. I wish to thank especially Mr. George B. Logan for his critical reading and editing of the manuscript and for his help with the bibliography; Miss Clyde Russell for her assistance in reinforcing and checking references and facts for compiling the index, and for her help with the book lists; and Mrs. J. S. Bennett for her unfailing coöperation and expertness in transferring to the printed page extensive and tedious dictation. I wish to thank also my colleagues, Professor J. F. Steiner of the School of Public Welfare and Miss Katharine Jocher of the Institute for Research in Social Science, for their many helps and suggestions. I am indebted to Anna Kranz Odum for reading all of the chapters and for her help in many other ways. And to the many authors and publishers from whom I have drawn these many years I wish to express appreciation for their contributions of substance and stimulating guidance.

H. W. O.

Chapel Hill,
March 1, 1927.

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MAN'S QUEST FOR SOCIAL GUIDANCE

CHAPTER I

TEACHER, STUDENT, AND PROBLEM

The Measure of Social Study. The measure of man's quest for social guidance will be found largely in the study of the social problems which have arisen in his career of adjustment and readjustment to his human backgrounds and relationships. This is particularly true in the modern era, with its rapid change, its complex civilization, and its multiplied social relationships. Such a quest, guiding process of social development, golden ideal of the ages, has become in the modern world, not only the keynote of social effort and aspiration, but the fundamental objective of social science and social study. Measures of success in social study will be conditioned partly by general cultural situations and social forces. But most of all the successful study of social problems will be conditioned by teacher and student, on the one hand, and by scope, methods, and facilities, on the other. This will be true of the general results of social study as expressed in social policy and social progress, as well as in effective teaching in college classroom. The purpose of this chapter, therefore, is to introduce teacher, student, and field of study through a prefatory discussion of problems, scope, and methods.

The Good Teacher. In the annals of social guidance, education, and leadership, the story of the good teacher is preëminent. In our *American Masters of Social Science* we have pointed out how the record of the social studies, as revealed in progress from meager beginnings to the larger accomplishments of the new era, can be told most effectively in the lives and work of pioneer teachers and masters. In the story of the work which these great teachers did and in the individuals whom they inspired to follow after them will be reflected one of the most important epochs of modern social development. Here was a Burgess, dignified, gracious, urbane, firm; a Turner, with lively and irrepressible intellectual curiosity; a Ward, with quiet dignity, deep emotion, and fine sympathy; a Small, bearing himself with the quiet elo-

quence of an ambassador; a Giddings, with curiosity, persistence, insight, forcefulness, charm, and humor; a Dunning, genial, winsome, with happy wit and wisdom; a Robinson, with broad interest, intellectual vim, and personal poise—all grounded in thorough preparation, untiring in devotion to subjects and students, setting themselves diligently and consistently to the task of teaching matters of social concern. These great teachers, however, are but leaders and symbols of that great host of teachers and masters who daily lead and guide the questioning youth in school, college, and university. Years ago Professor Giddings, in estimating those influences which had contributed largely to his molding, gave high place of honor to a young teacher, all effective for him but unknown to the larger world of scholarship. And Professor Van Dyke in his 1926 anniversary Phi Beta Kappa address singled out the "unknown teacher" as the chief object for the commendation of scholars. To-day there is even more need for the great teacher and leader, and for the host of good teachers to lead questioning youth in larger and larger numbers in the rapidly changing modern world. More is expected of the modern teacher; more by his constituency, by his colleagues, by his institution, and, most of all, by his students.

The Good Student. It is but a commonplace to call attention to the fact that in terms of quantitative knowledge of men and of things the modern youth may excel a Plato or an Aristotle. In subjects and in facilities for acquiring concrete experience and facts his opportunities are unexcelled. Progress in time, in space, and in the quantity of human achievement have brought him face to face with such momentous change and obligation as challenge him to his utmost efforts. The half century from which the student of to-day has sprung has witnessed such quantitative development and change in the social life and culture of man as has not occurred in all previous history. He not only faces a new era, bewildering enough to him, but finds himself face to face with his elders who encounter great obstacles in the way of adjusting themselves to modern social progress. Thus to his unprecedented store of available knowledge, his facilities for broad contacts and varied experience, the rapidly moving and highly stimulating world about him, is added the element of conflict between old and new, past and present, idealism and realism. And into this be-

wildering situation come the multitudinous discoveries and contributions of modern science, which are his for the asking. What, after all, shall it profit him to gain the whole world of quantity and lose his individuality and his personality? Or, what shall it profit him to lose himself in the world of social relationships? The modern student is, therefore, minded to learn by study, by questioning, and by experience as much as he can about the world of men and of things. He expects direction and guidance from his teachers, encouragement and fairness from his community, and is in a fair way ready to settle down to the hard but fascinating task of earnest study and creative effort. Nevertheless, more is expected of the modern student; more by his parents, more by his fellow students, more by his teacher, but, most of all, by society at large.

Teacher and Student Afield. The teacher-student relationship is also reflected in its quantitative measurement. In the United States alone there are approximately 1,000,000 school teachers and 28,000,000 students ranging from children to adults. In the teacher-training schools, colleges, and universities alone there are approximately 1,000,000 students who expect adequate guidance in the social studies from their thousands of instructors. Nevertheless, the task of teaching and learning in the modern era is in nowise limited to this group of teachers and of students in public schools, colleges, and universities. Scattered throughout the length and breadth of the land are another million students enrolled in extension courses of universities, correspondence schools, and other various institutional modes of making education a lifelong process of instruction, guidance, and adjustment. And this million older students, alike with questioning youth, seeking more knowledge and better social adjustment, demand good teachers and effective teaching. While searching diligently for the truth they still seek the good life and satisfying social relationships. Alongside these millions of students are other millions approaching and still other millions of citizens in town, in country, in civic clubs, in service groups, in church, and in religious organizations seeking instruction through reading, lectures, and other ways by which social problems and social relationships may be interpreted. Thus the opportunity for extended teaching and guidance of the youth of the land is inseparably bound up with sound teaching, wholesome direction of the larger body of citizens and with

future leadership. The opportunities, therefore, and obligations of professional teachers, of civic and religious leaders, and of publicists, center upon adequate social knowledge and the scientific spirit. For all society awaits a more adequate social direction through the avenue of the social sciences.

The Science of Social Guidance. This volume is an effort to approach the scientific study of human society through the study of social problems and social relationships. Chief emphasis is placed upon a comprehensive view, a unity of presentation, a representative body of information and source material, a well grounded and balanced plan approaching the objective and scientific method, and perhaps most of all the open-minded and scientific spirit and attitude. A comprehensive approach to the study of social problems will include both the personal and social relationships, and the physical and extrahuman backgrounds as well. It must include the objectives of the good society as found in the scientific spirit, the development and personality of the individual, and the good life in terms of social adjustment and social achievement. It must include the larger social relationships, in which the individuals find themselves in both the face-to-face associations and in the larger community and international relationships. It must include also the major institutions and their relations to the individual, and it must include the great factors of physical backgrounds, social incidence, and social change. We have, therefore, grouped our studies around twelve major fields of inquiry, each representing a larger force in the world of human relationships. These elements of social relationships include:

The individual and social differences.
Personality and leadership.
Physical backgrounds of society.
Social change and social development.
Social incidence and social emergency.
The family and its relationships.
Education and social direction.
Religion and society.
The state and political relationships.
Business and industrial relationships.
The community, social waste, and maladjustment.
Social science and social direction.

Dividing the Field. The plan upon which this volume has been arranged provides for sufficiently concrete divisions of the whole story of social relationships to permit of adequate study of each unit. That is, each division of the subject as represented by the thirty-three chapters may be studied in its simplest elements, utilizing elementary principles and representative facts, set forth with some originality or chosen from thoroughly reliable and acceptable sources. Or, the study of each subject may be extended to the point of wide reading, special research, advanced study, or even to an entire term course or published monograph. These chapter units again fall naturally into several larger unities. The first part of the book, including Chapters I, II, and III, constitutes an approach in method and spirit to the whole subject of social relationships. The second part, including Chapters IV, V, and VI, centers upon the objectives of society as found in the development of the social personality, the good life, and social leadership. The third part, including Chapters VII, VIII, and IX, includes those great forces found in social change, in the physical environment, and in such fundamental social incidence as war, mass movements, and emergencies. The fourth division, including Chapters X, XI, XII, XIII, and XIV, treats of those larger social relationships bounded by the development of world community. The fifth division, from Chapters XV to XXIX, is concerned with the larger fields of social relations as found in the major social institutions and their ramifications. Centering around the family, for instance, are the study of the family as a basic institution, the special problems of marriage and stability, and the problems of children, youth, and women. The very important modern problems of democracy and of direction for the adult citizen are treated respectively under the subjects of government and education. Centering around the community are the problems of maladjustment and social waste, as well as problems of the city and the country. The sixth and last part, from Chapters XXX to XXXIII, will be concerned with social direction, social values, and social progress, including general fields of social planning, social work, and the utilization of social science.

Practical Ends. The teacher and student may measure from time to time the results of study in various ways. The emphasis in this volume is placed more upon a comprehensive and scientific

viewpoint, concreteness of approach, a development of ability, and the functional outlook rather than upon the mere acquisition of knowledge. The objectives of the study are, therefore, pragmatic in two ways. The whole field of study is presented with a view to approaching the very practical human problems of living well together and working toward what Professor Giddings has called human adequacy. This is essentially not only the most important objective of social study, but it is the one quest in which society is now above all things else interested. On the other hand, the science of human relationships may well provide the best of avenues for educational discipline so far as intellectual training is concerned and the most effective solution of the passion for individual development and freedom in the modern world. Here may be found an answer to many of the present-day questions and conflicts, the explanation for much of our maladjustment, the interpretation of much of the modern era, exercises for the new spiritual and intellectual renaissance, and guidance for the future. The volume, therefore, finds its main objective in an approach to the social sciences rather than in exhaustive scientific study of human society itself.

Measuring Results. How, then, may teacher and student keeping these larger objectives in mind, direct study and measure results most effectively? What tests may each apply from time to time in the due process of study? The successful mastery of this volume would seem to require a sixfold test.

To what extent is the student gaining substantial knowledge of his general subject and of the specific social problems studied? To what extent is he learning to be concrete, definite, scientific in his use of terms and conclusions? This is an ordinary *classroom* test.

To what extent is the student thinking a little further into his subject than he has hitherto attempted original thinking in this or any other field? This is a test of *intellectual effort and ability.*

To what extent is the student learning something of new methods of study, of the utilization of the objective methods of measurement, of the substitution of facts for subjective opinions, of broader reading and groundwork in allied fields? This is a *test of equipment.*

To what extent is the student succeeding in making an original contribution, however small, or laying the foundation for such

contribution, through research or writing? This is the test of future promise and of *creative ability.*

To what extent is the student learning to make effective application of his knowledge in dependable perspective, to work harder and more intelligently, and to become an important factor in the institutions and social relationships about him? This is a test of *social engineering and citizenship.*

To what extent is the student, therefore, likely to become and remain one of a growing group to whom society may look for continued study and contributions, for the stimulation of broader social endeavor, and for effective promotion of social science? This is a test of *leadership and social concern.*

The objective standards suggested may be tested, not only in the measurement of the status and progress of the individual student, but applied to groups, communities, or even sections may yield suggestive results in indicative measurements of social status and progress. A society well versed in knowledge of social facts and history, accustomed to think and work out its problems, constantly trying the scientific method of doing things, creating new social technique and discovering new social truths, and withal constituting itself a self-perpetuating socially conscious civilization may well be judged progressive and adequate. On the other hand, a failure to attain the objectives set forth results in ignorance and lack of experience, mass-mindedness and emotional response, failure in creative impulses and abilities, low standards of taste and judgment, deficiencies in energies and achievement, unwise leadership and guidance, nonprogressive and traditional formalism.

Methods of Study. In addition, therefore, to the text matter which is presented in each chapter as an elementary approach and interpretation to the subject, six types of projects are offered to correspond with the six stated objective tests. Each of these is self-explanatory and is sufficient unto itself. Teacher and student may complete as few or as many as may be desired in accordance with the degree of thoroughness with which the subject is studied.

Projects for Gaining Knowledge. The primary purpose of these topics will be to help the student to increase his knowledge of the subject or subjects discussed in the chapter. There will be questions serving as a sort of review of the chapter. Other questions

will emphasize the statistical inquiries most pertinent to the subjects discussed. Still other questions will seek to stimulate the student to go out and search out original data.

Projects for Stimulating Thought. By "thought" and "thinking" in this series will not be meant the purely and technically logical process, but the more general use of the word which implies the much desired process of "thinking out" a problem or situation; there will be implied also the process of discussing problems and the element of freedom in class to say what one "thinks." The series of topics should be adapted to both elementary and advanced students, the specific use being determined by the amount of work required of the student, or the grade of students taking the work.

Projects for Research and Creative Writing. That the good student will learn to combine social study with social interpretation in such a way as to become more articulate in the expression of his personality and in the presentation of his thoughts is one of the chief ends of the course. Such exercise encourages the desire for knowledge, stimulates independent thinking, and promotes original contribution to the subject. To correlate this with English classes is an excellent method.

Projects for Practical Application. The first group of projects listed emphasizes primarily "study." This group of projects for practical application has in mind "doing" things rather than finding out about them or instituting research concerning their various aspects. Here will be listed topics suggesting actual programs of public policy, of social work, of community organization.

Perpetuating Group Projects. Measuring the means of continuous progress in the study of social problems and in the organization of social effort will constitute one of the most important tasks, both of study and of future achievement. What, therefore, in each instance, are the organized groups through which effective results may be obtained now and guaranteed for the future? What are the active sources of information and assistance?

Projects for Effective Reading. The reading lists and projects will constitute a major element in the whole field of social study. In this volume emphasis is placed upon four divisions. The first group of books listed under each chapter will constitute a sort of minimum requirement of current reading for the further special-

ization in that subject. The second list of books will comprise a larger number, not exhaustive, but representative of the best contributions in this field. This group will be listed by authors only, the complete titles and publishers being catalogued alphabetically in the larger bibliography at the end of the book. Thus the general reader, the teacher, and student may select and read as widely as may be desired with the assurance of a reading list well chosen both for limited and exhaustive study.

A Current Reading Schedule. The study of modern social problems is especially adapted to effective reading of current literature. On the other hand, the literature of the present day is peculiarly rich in source materials and well adapted to social study. Liberal reading of newspapers, of current general periodicals, of specialized journals, as well as of books, ought to constitute an important technique of both teacher and student. In general, an effective reading schedule of current literature would include varying selections from:

The daily newspaper: one more or less local, one national.

The specialized scholarly journal, as, for instance, in sociology, *The American Journal of Sociology* or *Social Forces;* in political science, *The Political Science Quarterly* or *The National Municipal Review;* in economics, *The American Economic Review* or a specialized journal in commerce or industry; in history, *The American Historical Review* or *Current History;* in general social work, *The Survey* or *Social Forces;* in special fields, *Opportunity* for the Negro; *The Family* or *Social Hygiene* for special social work; *The Playground* for community recreation; and others.

The monthly literary periodical, such as *The Atlantic Monthly, Harper's, The Forum, The American Mercury, The Century, The World's Work, Scribner's.*

Other fruitful sources are the national *weeklies,* such as *The New Republic, The Nation, School and Society, The Independent, The Christian Century;* the book review sections of national newspapers, *The Saturday Review of Literature,* and current bulletins, reprints, and contributions of public and private agencies of research and public service.

Selection of Sources. The literature in the general field of social problems, both in magazines and in published volumes, is so abundant as to make selection difficult. According to the records

of the *Publishers' Weekly* there were published in America during 1926, 9,925 volumes and in Great Britain 12,799. An examination of the classification of books in both the United States and Great Britain reveals clearly the large factor of social emphasis. If we exclude fiction and the juveniles, sociology is exceeded only by religion. In the United States the number of volumes on religion was 933 and sociology 544, while in Great Britain religion reported 863 with sociology 848. If, however, we include in the list books having peculiar social emphasis, such as history, biography, human geography, law, business, education, philosophy, religion, public health, the list will include more than half of the total output of books exclusive of fiction and general literature. That is, in Great Britain this list will total 4,689 while in the United States it will aggregate 4,451. If again we should add the very large number of books on fiction, science, and general literature, which are pre-eminently social in theme, the total number will be increased by a large ratio. That is, many of the books on science have had to do with human biology, evolution, science in relation to human welfare, while other volumes, such as studies of primitive art and customs, folk life and folk music, and the like, furnish admirable source material for the social scientists. Not only has the social emphasis been predominant in so large a number of books, but the public interest has shown a similar trend. For instance, of the thirty-seven important American books listed for the League of Nations International Institute of Intellectual Coöperation by the American Library Association twenty-four have to do especially with matters of social interpretation. Included in this interpretation are such books as *One Man's Life*, *Jefferson and Hamilton*, *North America*, *Why We Behave Like Human Beings*, *Science in the Modern World*, *The Biology of Population Growth*, and many others not listed under the heading of social science. If we examine the best sellers in the book stores, we find a similar interest manifested. In the nonfiction, for instance, there was *Why We Behave Like Human Beings*, *The Man Nobody Knows*, *Our Times*, *The Story of Philosophy*, *Jefferson and Hamilton*. Likewise, the books in greatest demand from the public libraries all over the country follow a similar trend, with the addition of such books as *Abraham Lincoln*, *The Prairie Years*, *The Fruit of the Family Tree*, *The Travel Diary of a Philosopher*, and others. Special lists selected by *The*

Nation and other individual and private groups show a similar trend toward things social.

Special Fields. In some special fields the titles are so numerous as to make it almost impossible for the student to select wisely even a reasonable number of the best contributions. Particularly abundant are the volumes and articles in the fields of labor and industry, general democracy and citizenship, the individual and personality, crime, immigration, population, child welfare, education, and general problems. We have, therefore, selected for each chapter a special list of five volumes which, while not necessarily the best, may be relied upon to be representative. To this five is added a second list, much larger, consisting of a fair selection of perhaps half of the best volumes in the field. The bibliography has been for the most part limited to a decade and a half, from the period just before the Great War to the present time, although in many instances noteworthy books of earlier days must be included. In this group are such volumes as Pearson's *Grammar of Science*, Sumner's *Folkways*, Cooley's *Social Organization*. The larger bibliography is itself an object lesson in the study of the very large amount of current writing on social subjects. Although the student may read liberally in the general field of social concern, including biography and fiction, he must distinguish between fact and opinion, analysis and dreaming, concreteness and "wishful thinking." It should be remembered that one of the chief emphases of this volume is that of objective portraiture, or of looking at the elements and factors of social life through objective methods of descriptive science. Quantitative reading, therefore, must not be allowed to retard the selective process or the critical judgment of the student.

The Study of Social Problems is, therefore, presented in the hope that its comprehensive approach and functional viewpoint may prove adequate and reliable as well as interesting, moving, and untechnical. At the same time the extensive bibliographies and the very wide scope and freshness of their source material will provide avenues for all the advanced, technical, and scientific study which may be desired. While centering around a unity or system of presentation, the story avoids the pitfall of being merely the interpretation of one or a few individuals. Rather its contents and reach are such that the student may feel assured that they are

representatives of the standard of acceptable, current contributions. If the general story of social relations can in this way be told to a larger group, and if from this group it may stimulate a selected smaller group to carry on scientific study and research further, its method and content will have been well justified. Keeping in mind, then, the objectives just stated, the next chapter will continue the approach through a general introductory viewpoint.

CHAPTER II

A GENERAL APPROACH

Why Study Social Problems? In the preceding chapter something of the unity and plan of *The Study of Social Problems* was presented. In that general outline of content and method was indicated also something of the need of social interpretation, of the nature of social problems, and of acceptable methods of study. In this chapter we shall continue the approach to the study of social problems and social relationships through a further examination of these three points of emphasis. Our first question, therefore, will be, "Why study social problems?" And our general reply to this question will be threefold. The study of social problems is, first of all, important to the individual in his education and social development. In the second place, it is essential to the well-ordered direction of society and to the promotion of social welfare. In the third place, knowledge of society and its problems is of the utmost importance to science, with its ever widening horizon. For at last society, which has almost universally neglected the study and promotion of its own welfare until it has first devoted its attention to all things else, has witnessed remarkable discovery and development in the field of social science.

The Equipment and Development of the Individual. The study of social problems is important to many types of individuals and for various reasons. To the everyday man, the citizen, the taxpayer, the worker, the homemaker, the patriot, the study of current social problems and trends is an essential part of his common training and equipment. It helps him to keep abreast of current changes and movements. It helps him to understand problems and movements of democracy, of education, of social advance. It gives him a basis for his participation in government, in community, and in other matters of institutional coöperation. It gives him a better cultural background in ways not possible through other means of study. It enables him to see causes and effects. It enables him to interpret the backgrounds of social

unrest, of radicalism or of general social righteousness. It enables him to see further into the ideals and goals of human progress and human happiness and shows him how to strive towards these ends through normal processes of work and growth. It takes social work out of the realm of sentimentality and gives it a new emphasis of scientific humanism. To marriage and the family it gives added resources for the stabilization of institutional life and for the successful outcome of child nurture and family relationships. And finally the study of social problems offers to the individual opportunity for profitable leisure-time study and gives to each citizen the consciousness of his common partnership in social progress.

Education and Leadership. To the *leaders* of present-day life the study of social problems is a first essential. There is scarcely a more unfortunate example of the blind leading the blind than the too oft-repeated spectacle of the majority of people following inferior leaders, uninformed and undisciplined. The successful study of social problems will always furnish an admirable cure for the demagogue and his power. And to the large group of earnest, sincere and militant leaders of reform, adequate knowledge of social backgrounds and social forces has always proved a steadying and guiding force. To the college professor, the professional man in law, medicine, science, industry, and religion, knowledge of social problems will eliminate in a large measure his supercritical attitude and his poorly balanced view of efforts towards social amelioration. Unfortunately, the attitudes of highly educated individuals and groups towards social study and social work frequently constitute obstacles more difficult to overcome than the unthinking attitude of the great majority. This volume is based upon the assumption that knowledge and truth about human society are as much a part of science and education as knowledge of material things and cosmic processes. Thus the study of social problems may be said to be an essential part of the curriculum for all students no matter what form later specialization and training may take.

The Student and Specialist. For the growing number of advanced students of social science and of specialists in the field of social work, the study of social problems assumes the rôle of first steps in preparation for professional achievement. It is a first approach for the social worker dealing with social adjustment

in the realm of family welfare, poor relief, or for the varied problems of dependency, defectiveness, and delinquency. To the specialist in government, problems of human relationships and human behavior become matters of first concern. In the same way leaders in industrial social work, community organization, religious activities, and social education must not only help with their own technique in the working out of social adjustments but they must know the fundamentals involved in social maladjustments and social deficiencies. And for those who wish to specialize in the field of social research unusual opportunities for superior achievement lie just ahead. It has been pointed out frequently of late that, whereas in other days the intellectual tension of peoples has been on theology or science or government, the present is a day in which intellectual emphasis is centered upon things social. Here then is the opportunity for the student of social science to achieve a distinction in his day greater than have the metaphysicians and the physical scientists in past eras. Was ever a challenge more direct or comprehensive? This modern challenge constitutes at once an admirable setting, distinct contributions, and a fascinating chance to study backgrounds of historical development, of social interest, of social consciousness, and of social development.

The Individual and the Good Life. The study of social problems is of further concern in that it helps to define and determine the objectives of the "good life." For, among the first objectives of the good society is the development of the good life for the individual. The actual study of social problems and social currents by the individual will in itself contribute something to the good life. But more important is the larger result of social study leading to social action which has as its primary objective a society which will tend to guarantee the preservation, nourishment, development, and full growth of the individual. In the usual programs for the study of social problems this simple fact is too often overlooked. After all, the objective of society and its institutions is the development and maintenance of an environment in which every individual may attain the maximum social growth, may function normally in the midst of and through his association with other individuals, and may give promise of the perpetuation of the best qualities of the race. The individual does not exist in order to nourish the flower of institutional life, as has so often

been assumed. Rather the institution and social organization have evolved in order to meet the needs of the individual in constantly changing social conditions. Thus many "individual" problems are in reality social problems and many of the commonly studied "social" problems are problems of the socially deficient individual. This prime emphasis upon the social individual is in harmony with the accepted principles and practice of modern education, with present-day scientific methods in the study of human society, with the newer concepts of human freedom, and with social programs for the development of human adequacy. An important part, therefore, of the program of study and work will have to do with the development of the individual, with the objective measurement of some of the qualities of the social personality, with the measurement of the influences of the institutions upon the individual and of the individual upon the institutions.

Social Factors and Social Forces. This brings us to the second objective of the study of social problems, namely, the development of a better society. While it is clear that this viewpoint need not be separated entirely from the viewpoint of the individual, as has just been indicated, the study of social problems with a view to improving society and making better adjustments in social relationships is in many ways the most important objective of social study. Thus, since the maximum growth and development of the individual will not be possible except through collective society with its social organization and coöperative effort, a larger objective will be found in the strengthening of the social institutions and in the control and direction of social and physical environment. What are the forces that direct or affect the individual and society for good or for evil, for progress or for retardation? If the study of social problems is to contribute something to the good society what are the fundamental points of attack? For the purpose and unity of this book we have considered twelve major groupings of social factors and social forces, as outlined in the previous chapter. Perhaps the heart of social study and control will be centered around the social institutions which must act as a buffer between the individual and social change and through which society may marshal its forces. In general the viewpoint of the present study is that, whenever in the long road of human

destiny an individual has failed or a social group has deteriorated, some one or more of the institutions have failed in the time of need. Social institutions have failed often not only because of what Professor Ogburn calls "social lag," but because of the tendency of each institution to develop its own organization and structure in isolated ways and with objectives not coördinated with other social institutions or with other organic social forces. There is, therefore, at this time particular need for critical study of the institutions.

Confusion of Institutional Form and Purpose. Two important concerns of present-day social institutions seem to be confusion of form and generic value on the one hand and of social structure and purpose on the other. This may be illustrated simply. The home is a sort of physical form through which the family with its generic structure may function. The country home differs from the city home, the home of the poor from that of the rich, but the significance of the family as a social unit is continuous. And yet many are the examples where the stubborn individual or institution is willing to break up the family in order to maintain certain traditional forms and customs that are but superficial. The little red schoolhouse of the older days differs from the magnificently equipped modern high school or university, and yet the generic process of education, ever widening to meet social needs, remains forever the great generic force. Here again individuals and groups, stubbornly holding to past forms, would succeed in retarding the progress of educational content and procedure. Ten score forms of church affiliation and religious sects bear tragic testimony to the fact that the superficial structure of a great institution may transcend the universal quality and power of spiritual and religious forces. The cyclic history of governments from earlier days to the late war and the present aftermath give powerful evidence of the importance of evolving sound forms of state to meet the requirements of government capable of exerting social control upon human behavior. The forms of state have changed often and must change, but the generic place of social organization and government still challenge the social order. In the great institution of work, fundamental from the beginning for individual and groups, stark tragedy has stalked through the history of modern times because of the confusion of the forms,

methods, and purposes of industry with the great social institution of work. And finally, the story of social maladjustments and sufferings and broken civilizations is the chronicle of the failure of the community process of association and social unity. Thus, if the study of social problems hopes to set a high task from the viewpoint of the good society it will turn its scientific energies to this problem of the critical analysis of institutional problems and relationships.

Institutional Coöperation. Another major point of attack in the study of problems centering around the institutions seems to be that of their interdependence and interrelationships. In simple terms, no institution may function completely and socially if its chief objective is the perfection of its own organization and flower rather than serving its constituency and building society. That family which does not contribute to better citizenship, to better education, to better industry, to the making of the better community is an imperfect family. That school which does not contribute something to the making of a better community, to instruction in family relationships, to guidance in work, to interpretation of civic problems, and to high standards of social morality is not a good school. That state or municipality which does not render social justice, provide through public welfare and social legislation for its individual and institutional needs, which does not support education and industry, or which persecutes the individual or group for religious belief is not a good social institution. That industry which does not contribute to the upbuilding of community or the support of other social institutions and which does not take thought for the welfare of its workers is not a good social force. And that church or religious group which divides community against itself, which persecutes groups of other beliefs, which opposes the right social objectives of other institutions is not a good social institution. In fine, any institution which sets up its own objectives and forms as an ultimate goal, heedless of other social relationships and social change cannot keep pace with social progress. These rather simple and obvious limitations of the institutions have given rise to a great many social deficiencies and social problems which impede the progress of mankind. Adequate study of the situation would indicate some such criterion as follows. That is a good society which so builds and strengthens

its institutions that through their own organization and reorganization, and their direction of physical and social environment they may tend to guarantee to the largest possible number of individuals opportunity for complete normal growth and development.

Increasing Need of Social Study. Society not only needs the best that the student of social problems can give its institutions and its relationships for the purposes already indicated, but at the present time the rapid rate of social change makes social study much more imperative than in any other period in the history of the world. There have been, for instance, within the last fifty years more quantitative progress and more change in the material and cultural development of the world than in all the rest of history. In this remarkable development of civilization the great physical sciences have contributed through many forms and avenues of scientific research. They have studied concrete problems and they have studied their composite relationships, so that great cities, great industries, great avenues of transportation and media of communication have grown into a great unity of modern civilization. This unprecedented development has accentuated the need for scientific study in human relationships in two ways. In the first place, it has taken the energy of the greatest leaders and a majority of men from things social to things material, thereby leaving the spiritual part of social development neglected. In the second place, by its tremendous advance and its thousandfold complication of human relationships it has multiplied opportunities for social maladjustment and has added immeasurably to the harvest of social problems. Society therefore must turn its attention to the bridging of this distance between social needs and social science, and the social sciences must do in this generation for human happiness and the good society what the physical sciences have done for material prosperity in the last.

The Search After Truth. The third great appeal for the study of social problems is the search after truth, to which a separate chapter must be devoted. It is enough to say here that if mankind has always expressed the belief that science and truth constitute one of the chief goals of human effort, their application to human affairs must surely represent the climax of social endeavor. If in the great physical reaches of the world knowledge of truth means freedom, then to know the truth in the social realm ought to make

us free above all else. If those who have increased the world's knowledge and have made some contributions to science have been proclaimed the romantic leaders of a developing civilization how much more ought the search after truth in human relationships challenge the student of social affairs, the field of which is larger and more abounding in opportunities than any other. In the January, 1927, *Popular Science Monthly* twenty distinguished scientists have attempted to forecast something of the future of the physical sciences immediately at hand. In medicine William J. Mayo emphasizes immunization and reconstruction in internal medicine and rehabilitation by physicochemical means for surgery. In zoölogy W. T. Hornaday predicts a great awakening in the conservation and development of wild life, and in geology Theodore J. Hoover prophesies a similar awakening to our reckless expenditure of mineral resources. In bacteriology Edward O. Jordan thinks we are on the verge of important discoveries in the bacteriology of measles and similar important facts concerning scarlet fever, infantile paralysis, and various other diseases. In chemistry Edwin E. Slosson predicts that in 1927 one or more of the elusive vitamins will be run down, identified, and synthesized, and that we may enter a new epoch of organic synthesis. Dexter S. Kimball, in mechanical engineering, expects considerable development in internal combustion engines using oil and other liquid fuels, and a continued extension of quantity production. Arthur Williams anticipates that in the field of electricity there will be still larger appreciation of the value of electric power. Robert A. Millikan expects reconstruction of the quantum theory in physics, and development in placing the whole structure upon experimentally observed facts. Equally concrete forecasts are made in other fields: ocean transportation by Bradley A. Fiske, polar exploration by Vilhjalmur Stefansson, radio by Alexander Senauke, astronomy by Edwin T. Pollock, automobile engineering by Edward V. Rickenbacker, agriculture by William Crocker. Are the social sciences in a position to make equally definite and tangible forecasts?

The Normal Approach to Social Study. This brings us to our next question concerning the methods of studying social problems and their availability for scientific analysis and objective inquiry. If the study of social problems and relationships is to yield results commensurate with those of the physical sciences, what are the

prerequisities? How, after all, *shall* we study these eternal human problems? How shall we go about the quest for human guidance? The first answer to the inquiry is perhaps the simplest one. *Social problems should be studied with the same energy, enthusiasm, open-mindedness, and ability as other problems and studies are pursued.* There is special emphasis upon this viewpoint because of the great need for the approach to matters of social concern being made in the spirit of truth. At the heart of all success in social study must be the spirit of searching after the truth and no less of the right attitudes in its teaching and promotion. So important is this that the next chapter will be devoted entirely to this subject. There is, furthermore, special emphasis upon this normal approach to social study because of the general assumption of mankind that matters of human concern could not be adequately studied and because therefore they have been almost universally neglected. Sometimes in the long road of human history men have considered it presumptuous or irreverent to undertake scientific inquiries into matters of human relationships and human aspirations. Likewise it has often been generally assumed by scholars and scientists that because human affairs involve so many and so complex factors and because no adequate objective science has been perfected for the study of humanity, therefore it was too much to expect anything of a permanent value or of accurate proportions. Because, therefore, of these essential needs, of prevailing attitudes of the past and present, and of the long years of cumulative neglect in this field, the first problem of method is that of open-minded approach and a fair presumption of results.

Simple Illustrations. Simple everyday illustrations of this method of approach are legion. The opinion is reiterated again and again that within the last half century civilization has made more progress in the development of material wealth, in the elimination of many older grounds of suffering and disease, in the promotion of comfort and human satisfaction, and in the general unifying of a world society than in all the rest of history combined. Outstanding phases of this great development include the essential field of medical science with its hospitals and discoveries. It includes the field of communication, with radio, wireless, cable, telegraph, telephone, and varied æsthetic media in the fields of music and education. A large factor is that of the urbanization

and industrialization of society, with its cities almost unbelievably modern and complete and with its industries springing up like magic. Contributing largely to these quantitative forms of progress is the important factor of transportation with its railroads, its modern highways, its transcontinental ocean-going lines, all eliminating time and space in a new era. Other significant phases of this progress include unheard of facilities for recreation, for entertainment, for education, for home making and for creating and using wealth. How then have these results been attained? Have they "just happened"? Have they been reached merely through general dreaming and aspiration and opinions based largely on custom and practice of the past? Or have they been reached through arduous devotion and heroic application of individuals and groups in the biological, chemical, and physical sciences? Through what avenues have great medical advances been made, good roads built, communication effected except through the application of results obtained solely by concrete and scientific study of specific problems? Do we expect a lawyer or a teacher or a preacher to give specifications for a great building or temple or bridge or highway? Do we expect the poet to write a prescription or evolve a formula for emergency relief from disease or for combating a gas attack of an invading enemy? Why then expect on the one hand that human problems and human difficulties will solve themselves or that any individual may become expert in all matters of human affairs? Are not the building of a human life, the directing of social groups, the planning of social progress more difficult and more important than the building of roads and bridges and skyscrapers?

Science and the Social Sciences. Our next suggestion as to the method of studying social problems is a similarly simple one. In the first place, we should follow science which after all is in essence the search after truth through orderly methods. In the next place, we should employ the social sciences in the study of social problems in some such way as we have utilized the physical and natural sciences in the study of physical and material progress. Are there social sciences which may be utilized in the working out of social situations comparable to the physical sciences? What are the social sciences, in fine, comparable to physics, chemistry, zoölogy, biology, engineering and the others? Can these social

sciences be utilized and adapted to the concrete study of all human affairs? Here are the venerable and distinguished social sciences, history, political science, economics. Here are the rapidly evolving and coördinating sciences of sociology, anthropology, and social psychology; likewise the important studies of human geography, social biology, social ethics, jurisprudence, and the scientific approach through social statistics. The new *history* not only deals with the past life of mankind as a continuous story, but helps to interpret social development and social change. It supplies much of the background for understanding society and its culture, and for stimulating creative efforts to guide society through the problems of the present and the future. *Economics* interprets the processes by which men make a living by explaining the organization and interrelation of individual and social groups. Specialization, the distribution of effort, the struggle with nature, the exchange of goods, competition, and many other social-economic relationships constitute the basis for social welfare. Aristotle has called politics the noblest of sciences. *Political science* treats of human behavior in that particular social organization represented by government and law. Later chapters will be devoted to the business of living and of government, while particular opportunities of history, economics, and government will be pointed out in the last chapter on science, social science, and social direction. It is sufficient here to recognize the basic improvements and unity of the social sciences in the study of all social problems.

Other Social Sciences. In somewhat the same way in which the sciences of history, economics, and political science are being utilized more effectively in determining the social direction and guidance, other social sciences are making important contributions. Alongside sociology, for instance, anthropology, social psychology, and social ethics are particularly important. *Cultural anthropology*, as being developed at the present time, contributes to our knowledge and understanding of mankind the important factors of primitive culture. It adds much to our knowledge of folk values and ought to help us in getting certain guides and restarting points for the study of social values. This point of view of the folk values will be one of special emphasis in this book and will be treated in the chapter on social progress and social values. *Social Psychology* likewise has within recent years assumed new and larger propor-

tions in the whole realm of social study. While the so-called pure psychology as a science deals with his mental processes, social psychology is of particular importance in connecting the study of the individual with the study of the group. In many ways social psychology in its relation to the other social sciences is analogous to the emphasis placed upon the individual in his relations to society as outlined in this book. In addition to being the gateway from the study of the individual to groups of individuals, social psychology helps interpret human behavior in all its realms. Even government has come to recognize the fact that social control is largely concerned with problems of human behavior. Likewise, students of economics, of industry, of community organization must find their backgrounds in the realm of social psychology. In this field, too, are many of the problems of abnormal psychology, of personality and social adjustment, and the applied field of psychiatry. Likewise, *biology* or "social biology," if one wishes to give the emphasis to eugenics, heredity, the physical basis of individual differences, has become more and more an essential background for the study of human relationships.

General Approaches. One of the theses underlying the plan of this volume is that a major task of the next era of social study is to determine better indices of social values and of making way for their attainment in social action. *Social ethics*, therefore, although perhaps at the present time not exerting so large an influence upon social science, ought in the near future to assume a more important rôle. From the point of view of this volume social ethics ought therefore to contribute to two important social objectives. The one is that of social values which must inevitably be based on a joint foundation of social science and the higher humanism. A point of approach, at least, is the general approach of social anthropology and social ethics in which society reverting its steps to some extent may pick up threads of natural and social heritage and social potential and recreate from new starting points more permanent and dynamic values. The other important contribution of social ethics aligned with other social sciences will be found in its guidance in matters of social morality. In addition to its bases found in the newer indices of social values, social morality will make new alignments in many social relationships. Social ethics, therefore, ought to have an important place in the student's

listing of his most important tools of study and work. The key to success in social study in each of these social sciences must be found to a large extent in the scientific, objective, or statistical approach. The science of statistics or the science of numbering, therefore, becomes an essential tool and method from which each of the social studies may attain scientific or objective proportions. It is only through such a technical discipline that the spirit and method of science previously emphasized and elaborated further in the next chapter may be realized. *Social statistics*, therefore, is assuming an increasingly important place in the whole field of social study, and even in the preliminary approaches to the social sciences must contribute something to method and attitude. In the same way, other media of perfecting the social sciences and of applying them to social direction will be important and will be discussed in our final chapters on social science and social direction. Of particular interest will be the field of *education*, of *educational sociology*, of *social work*, and of *public welfare*. There is finally in this preliminary chapter need for special emphasis upon the applied aspects of sociology, around which more than any other social science centers the study of social problems.

Sociology the Science of Society. Sociology, which has made such rapid progress in the last few decades, is rapidly evolving into a comprehensive science of society. While the study of social problems constitutes an admirable background for the advanced study of the theory and principles of sociology, it is important to know something of the specific viewpoint of the theory of sociology and of the other social sciences before proceeding to the practical task of study and research into the problems of modern society. What then is sociology, the chiefest of the social sciences through which effective social direction may be attained? In answering this question, the following general interpretations, rather than definitions, selected as typical and for the purposes of this book, will show present-day emphasis and trend. Professor Giddings says, "In the same large sense in which economics is the science of the production and distribution of wealth, for *man*, sociology is the science of the production and distribution of adequacy, *of* man and *in* man. Economics tells us how, as far as it is possible, we can *get* the things that we desire to *have;* sociology tells us how, as far as it is possible, we can *become*

what we desire to *be*." Professor Ross also points out practical objectives when he says, "Sociologists follow the method of science but they are by no means content to seek knowledge for her own sake. They are not ashamed to avow an over-mastering purpose and that is—to better human relations." Lester F. Ward also adapted sociology to social use. "Just as pure sociology aims to answer the questions What, Why, How,—so applied sociology aims to answer the question What For. The former deals with facts, causes, and principles, the latter with the object, end or purpose. The one treats the subject matter of sociology, the other its use." Blackmar and Gillin give a twofold purpose. "In short, we may say that the purpose of Sociology is, first, to understand society; then to enable us to formulate a scientific program of social betterment," while Ellwood concludes, "Hence, sociology is largely a study of institutions in their relations to social life."

Unscientific Methods and Irrational Efforts. In view of the foregoing considerations, there will accordingly be found few who would deny the importance of scientific methods in the study of social problems and of rational efforts towards their solution. And yet the story of past efforts has been often largely a story of just the opposite. Herein lies much of the failure of social study, in the knowledge acquired, in the results accomplished, and in the perfection of its method and procedure. Says Parsons, "Modern sociology, however, is rapidly passing out of the irrational stage. It still suffers, as does its sister-science, psychology, at the hands of emotional friends who secure a great deal of publicity; but they are increasingly outnumbered by less conspicuous but more effective students. In spite of spectacular experiments and conspicuous failures, a formidable fund of knowledge has accumulated which is rapidly placing applied social science among the professions with a technique and training comparable to law and medicine." Aside from the generally unscientific methods employed there have been superficial standards, wrong attitudes, and impossible procedure. Because results may not appear measurable, some have thought, therefore, that results could not be attained; others, that no harm would result from superficial study and irrational efforts; others have been pessimistic with reference to good results for the same reasons. Many have assayed to become workers and "specialists" without any basis whatever of training for effective-

ness. Sentiment has run riot and those who have failed in other fields have estimated themselves capable of directing human destinies. While frankly recognizing the importance of training and long-time preparation for study and practice in the simpler professions they have believed that training for social work was far less important than the spirit of good will and the good heart. Rarely have students of social problems recognized the fact that the best that has been commonly attempted has been only introductory to the real study-program upon which students are now entering. Superficial methods have not been limited to the study of general social problems and to social work but have been applied in the teaching of civics, in the interpretation of social problems, and in the working out of curricula and community programs.

Dangers and Limitations. We have pointed out how some of the prejudices and lack of confidence in the social sciences have been justified by mistakes in the past and by limitations in method and content. Too much emphasis cannot be placed upon the importance of the scientific spirit in the utilization of the new sciences and of careful and cautious procedure. Social sciences are not built in a day, nor is social evolution done in the twinkling of an eye. An important statement is found in the conclusions of a special group of social scientists, under the auspices of the Commonwealth Fund, who have been working upon a statement of basic processes in society. The committee, of which Professor L. C. Marshall, was chairman, in an unpublished report quoted by permission, cautions:

> It is, perhaps, expedient to point out that there are reasons for proceeding carefully in using our social sciences as tools with which to modify social organization. For one thing, as we have already seen, these social sciences are in the early stages of their development. Their generalizations concerning social relationships are correspondingly tentative. For another thing, social organization is by its very nature a contrivance—a contrivance that should change with the changes in things to be organized. We have come to see that our method of advance is one of tentative innovation—mainly one of achieving improvement in particular things at particular times and places. In making modifications in this contrivance, social organization, we should not assume that our social sciences can point out for us some ultimate goal of progress and then point out the path to be followed in arriving at that goal. They

cannot free us from the necessity of experimental progress. They can merely make our experimentation more enlightened and intelligent. They can provide scientific social knowledge for the training of experts; and they can provide popular social knowledge and competent social reporting as the bases of the enlightened sentiment and opinion which, in a progressive society, must underlie all intelligent experimentation. They may not wisely attempt the formulation of ultimate goals—certainly not at their present stage of development.

CHAPTER III

THE SPIRIT AND METHOD OF SCIENCE

The Social Value of Truth. Throughout this volume attitudes towards social problems and objective methods of study constitute a chief point of emphasis. First and last an open-minded approach and a scientific method will not only result in finding and disseminating truth but will in themselves constitute an effective discipline in the ways of truth and social values. Professor Curtis, for instance, goes so far as to say that "the supreme value of research lies in the power of truth to harmonize conflict of human opinion and make coöperation possible." Thus our spirit and method of seeking truth become both a means and an end in this fascinating task of studying social problems and developing social guidance. This chapter will therefore continue the approach to human backgrounds and relationships, begun in the previous chapters, with a simple study of the search after truth and the broader humanistic spirit which must underlie the successful teaching of the social sciences. It may be well to begin our understanding of truth and knowledge by pointing to some of the folk estimates and references in literature that show the place they hold as social values.

The Age-long Search after Truth. Literature and experience abound in evidences of the universal search after truth and wisdom and of the recognition of their value to humanity upon the earth. There is, perhaps, no objective more universally accepted as a *summum bonum* than that revealed in the doctrine which proclaims that to know the truth "shall make you free." Socrates declared that man wise who *knew that he did not know*, and hence was open to the search after truth. Said the old Roman, "Plato is my friend, Socrates is my friend, but truth is a friend I prize above both." Another Roman said that "truth is mighty and will prevail"; and still another: "Truth never perishes." Sophocles early grounded his drama and philosophy on the principles that "truth is always straightforward," and "the truth is always the stronger

argument." An Arabian holds that "truth is better than gold." In the world's greatest proverbs truth and tolerance stand as beacon lights with falsehood and intolerance as points of danger. "Above all things always speak the truth"; "An honest man speaks the truth"; "Buy the truth and sell it not"; "There is nothing so royal as truth"; "Truth may be suppressed but not strangled"; "Truth may languish but never perish"; "Truth never fears investigation"; "Without truth there can be no other virtue."

Conflict of Ideals and Practice. An examination of the great religions and faiths of the world will reveal a similar agreement on the power and efficacy of truth. Egyptian, Hindu, Buddhist, Zoroastrian, Confucian, Greek, Roman, Jewish, Mohammedan, Christian, and all the folk religions reveal the inevitable and eager search after truth. For instance, Mahatma Gandhi says, "There is no religion higher than truth and righteousness." Rabindranath Tagore inquires concerning the Man from the East, "Did he not unite the East and the West in truth?" Hindu and Persian assert alike the power of truth: "Great is truth appointing the straight path. Never has it been overthrown." The artistic Greeks in religious moods affirm that "Truth is the beginning of all good things both to gods and to man." The search after truth and wisdom occupies a first place in the Jewish religion: "Great is truth and mighty above all things." The Christian religion exhorts, "Prove all things, hold fast that which is good," the end of which they estimate to be "the new man created in righteousness and wholeness of truth." Likewise in the modern scientific era the discovery of truth and the attainment of tolerance stand perhaps as high points in the popular social emphasis. Why, then, in view of this universal acceptance of ideals, has mankind so long been submerged in ignorance and afraid of the truth? What more important task, therefore, is there than that of attempting to lead every student and every teacher into the paths of truth seeking? It is no easy question that asks why the peoples of the earth have not followed their own keenest vision and what errors they would have avoided if only they had sought and found the truth. Nevertheless, the question concerning the past is not so important as a similar question challenging the future.

The Rôle of Truth in the Modern Era. Not less but more emphatic is the modern demand for truth. Such a demand has gone out not only from the exhortations of literature, of proverbs, of religion, but to the fields of active life, of education, and of science. The unyielding demand for truth in medicine has wrought havoc with old superstitious and dangerous practices. Even during the middle ages, when the whole world was rife with the belief in diabolic possession as a cause of disease, when monks denounced the resort to medicine and physicians as incompatible with the purity and holiness of their order, when those who sought to inquire into the "mysteries" of life were persecuted and damned, —even then there arose such men of strong conviction and fearless abandon to truth as Vesalius, the founder of the science of anatomy. Geniuses such as he occasionally championed the science of medicine, but it was not until the latter half of the nineteenth century that Pasteur with his master contribution of the discovery of fermentation and disease germs paved the way for the successful combating of disease and infection in surgery. Harris and Butt in *Scientific Research and Human Welfare* tell of Ambroise Paré, a surgeon of the sixteenth century, who supposing that wounds received in war were due to poisons from powder, treated his patients by pouring boiling oil and hot pitch into the wounds to counteract the poison. A few statistics taken from the same book will suffice to show the great decrease in human wastage which has been effected by the nearer approach to truth in medicine. In 1861 in the hospitals of Paris 65 per cent of those having amputations died, whereas to-day in the South Bethlehem hospital only 4.54 per cent die from amputations. Of amputations in the hip joint 100 per cent in the Crimean War and 83.3 per cent in the Civil War died, whereas in the Boer War—after infection by germs was discovered—only 8.8 per cent died. In 1867 statistics showed that in maternity cases one woman out of every twenty-nine died of puerperal fever, while to-day only one out of every 1,200 dies from this cause. These figures are sufficient to indicate the prodigious saving in human life which has resulted from the unrelenting search for truth in medicine.

Rôle of Truth in Inventions and Discoveries. Inventions and discoveries in the world of commerce, industry, engineering, and other fields of practical life have wrought changes which take on

an aspect of the miraculous. Instead of the slow travel of 100 years ago by horse, wagon, or stagecoach over rough roads almost impassable in bad weather because of mud and ruts, there are the transcontinental railway lines with freight, express, mail, and comfortable passenger service, electric cars, and transcontinental air lines, to say nothing of the ubiquitous automobile. Instead of a period of weeks being sometimes required to send a message a few hundred miles by stagecoach, there is now at our disposal the telegraph, telephone, and wireless. Not only in the field of manufacturing has the machine supplanted the earlier work by hand, but in agriculture steel plows, harvesting machines, binding machines, gas engines, tractors and other labor and time-saving machinery have displaced the older wooden plows, scythes and other hand implements. Keir in *Industrial Organization* estimates that in 1820 it took three horses, a man, and a boy to thrash forty bushels of wheat in one day, while now thousands of bushels can be thrashed in the same time. Whereas formerly only about four acres could be reaped in one day, now two and one-half times as many can be reaped in one hour. Instead of the torches and candles of earlier days there are gas, electric, and acetylene lights. The old house warmed by a log fire has been transformed into the modern, furnace-heated house using coal, steam, oil, or gas. Engineering instruments have been perfected to such a degree that tunnels a dozen miles in length under massive mountains can be measured with an error of only a fraction of an inch. Devices for measuring lengths of materials for bridges and buildings, devices for measuring the smallest of angles, surveying instruments, all have contributed to refashioning and utilizing natural resources for human welfare.

Truth in the Field of Education. The discovery of truth in the field of education has transformed the methods and purposes of the school until education gives promise not only of bringing widsom and knowledge to coming generations but of guiding them into paths of richer living. A comparison of the catalogues of 1866 and of 1926 for one of our larger universities reveals an astonishing variation in curricula. The emphasis of 1866 upon Latin and Greek has been translated into an emphasis upon the social sciences and studies related to human welfare. In 1866 the course of study through the Junior year comprised Greek, Latin, and mathematics

with the addition of one course in history, rhetoric, or natural philosophy. During the last quarter of the Junior year and throughout the Senior year attention was given to the physical sciences, philosophy, and theology. Studies of human relationship and existing social problems were totally lacking. An examination of the present catalogue of the same university reveals that in the sixty years which have intervened has come a decrease in the emphasis on Latin and Greek and a corresponding increase in emphasis on the social sciences, evidenced by the listing to-day of only forty-six courses in the classics as against 112 courses in the social studies.

The Rôle of Truth in Other Fields. In the field of social welfare, truth is dispelling ignorance and creating an atmosphere and a setting in which mankind may enter upon new reaches. Such emphases as those upon child welfare, family welfare, juvenile delinquency, the insane, the criminal, and other unfortunates gives some idea of the effort which has been made to bring truth and intelligent action into the field of public welfare. Scientific studies of nutrition, health conditions, disease, mental and social hygiene, housing conditions, broken homes, divorce, have all contributed to bring truth into the realm of the home. Experiments and studies in juvenile delinquency have brought about the juvenile court and the separation of the youthful offender from the older and hardened criminal. Psychological and psychiatric data have been utilized for a better understanding and a more thorough reorganization of the life of the young delinquent. In prisons experiments in democratic government and training in occupations have been made as preparation for more responsible and productive citizenship after prison days. And likewise, if space permitted, an almost endless number of examples could be cited of the benefit to human well-being brought about by the painstaking and tedious search for a thorough understanding of truth in human relationships and activities. In the field of religion truth is challenging as never before the mind and soul of mankind to seek first its own kingdom in order that all other things may be added. Unprecedented discovery, publication, and dissemination of truth are showing what tragedy and waste have been wrought in the world because of ignorance. It is necessary only to refer to the copious reference material listed in the latter pages of this book to see the enormous

proportions which the results of discovery and experiment in human welfare have reached. And finally, there is much evidence to indicate that, along with this newer spirit and method, the fear of truth is being more and more dispelled.

The Meaning of Truth. Like the romantic history of the search after truth through the varied and winding paths of the past has been the attempt to find its meaning. Some there have been who held that truth, fixed and static, represented the dogmatic verdict of men or systems or civilizations. Many have been the individual and group tragedies resulting from this false conception. Others have held that truth is ever-growing and dynamic, and many have been the stages of progress ushered in through such a conception. One of our first "problems" therefore is to come to a clear understanding of what is meant by truth. Says Professor James, "up until about 1850 the conception of truth was that it was an exact copy of a definite code of non-human realities—that it was a duplicate of the prehuman archetype period in the structure of things to which the spark of divinity was attached. Evolution has changed all this. Truth is not static—it is dynamic." And again, "Truth is the opposite of whatever is unstable, of whatever is useless, of whatever is lying and unreliable, of whatever is unverifiable and unsupported, of whatever is inconsistent and contradictory, of whatever is artificial and eccentric, of whatever is unreal in the sense of being of no practical account." Hart in his fascinating *Makers of Science* says that "Truth, once discovered, does not remain shut up in the study or the laboratory. When the moment comes it bursts its narrow bounds and joins the quick pulse of life. That which has been discovered in solitude in the unselfish struggle for knowledge in pure love of science is often fated to be the mighty lever to advance the culture of our race." These and many other concepts of truth might be cited. The definitions given here are sufficient to indicate the general meaning of truth as organic knowledge and relationship which are as broad as life and nature, as sure and continuous as the processes of growth and development, and as eternal and applicable as organic law. Our next emphasis, therefore, must be upon the methods of finding the truth, in the discussion of which further concepts will be developed.

Science as the Gateway to Truth. "There is no short cut to truth, no way to gain a knowledge of the universe except through

the gateway of scientific method. The hard and stony path of classifying facts and reasoning upon them is the only way to ascertain the truth." This is the verdict of Karl Pearson in his epochal *Grammar of Science*, and it explains much of the failure of society in the past to discover and to utilize truth. His words are peculiarly applicable to social problems and social relationships and to the failure of the social sciences to keep pace with the physical sciences. It is scarcely necessary to emphasize the importance of the scientific method in searching out the truth of human affairs. The search after truth, therefore, becomes largely synonymous with the scientific method and the scientific attitude. The meaning of truth becomes, for the purposes of this volume, the meaning of science; the search after truth becomes the spirit of science; and the crusade to discover the truth is dominated by the spirit of the scientist and the teacher, without whose leadership society may not expect the good life for the individual or progress for the group.

The Meaning of Science. Science—its meaning, its method, its limitations—has been widely misunderstood. In some quarters too much has been expected of it and in others too little. As with truth, there have been many attempts to give it adequate definition and interpretation. Like truth, it has had its false prophets and its false professors. The story of the growth and development of the conception of science has been a story of romance, stranger than fiction. Concepts of what science is have ranged from simple definitions which interpret it as organized common sense to those which delve into cause and effect and complicated formulæ of mathematical correlations. Jevons tells us that "*science* teaches us to know, and *art* to do, and all the more perfect *sciences* lead to the creation of corresponding useful *arts*." In the field of human affairs this would mean that the social sciences in teaching us to know and to do will develop not only arts but programs. Professor Giddings in his *Scientific Study of Human Society* says, "It ought not to be necessary at this late day, but it is necessary, to tell the general public that science is nothing more nor less than getting at facts, and trying to understand them, and that what science does for us is nothing more nor less than helping us to face facts. Facing the facts that the physical and biological sciences have made known to us has enabled us to live more comfortably and longer than men once did.

Facing the facts that the social sciences are making known to us, and will make better known, should enable us to diminish human misery and to live more wisely than the human race has lived hitherto. In particular it should enable us to take the kinks out of our imperfect codes of conduct. It will be discovered one day that the chief value of social science, far from being academic, is moral." Huxley expresses a similar sentiment when he says, "Science is, I believe, nothing but *trained and organized* common sense." In these and many other concepts of science will be found an increasing enlightenment on the part of people everywhere and a fine promise of future attainment.

The Methods of Science. The meaning of science is further explained by reference to scientific methods. Edman in his *Human Traits*, following the lead of Karl Pearson and others, says, "Scientific method is merely common sense made more thoroughgoing and systematic. . . . Scientific thinking merely means careful, safeguarded, systematic thinking. It is thinking alert and critical of its own methods. Scientific method, or orderly, critical, and systematic thinking, is not applicable to one subject-matter exclusively. Examples are commonly drawn from the physical or chemical or biological laboratory, but the elements of scientific method may be illustrated in the procedure of a business man meeting a practical problem, a lawyer sifting evidence, a statesman framing a new piece of legislation. In all these cases the difference between a genuinely scientific procedure and mere casual and random common sense is the same." Pearson exhorts us against supposing "that the scientific frame of mind is a peculiarity of the scientist." Likewise Jevons reiterates the importance of the principle that "the application of the scientific method cannot be restricted to the sphere of lifeless objects." Huxley reinforces the same sentiment when he says, "The man of science, in fact, simply uses with scrupulous exactness the methods which we all, habitually and at every moment, use carelessly, and the man of business must as much avail himself of the scientific method—must as truly be a man of science—as the veriest book-worm of us all."

The Scientific Method in Human Society. Thus the general concepts of what science is and the emphasis upon the practicability of its method reinforce our plans for increasing the use of the scientific method in the study of social affairs. Perhaps one

other comprehensive and lucid statement from so great a master as Karl Pearson, writing in the *Grammar of Science*, will suffice. After pointing out the very healthy spirit of our age in which "we are accustomed to question all things and to demand a reason for their existence," he continues, "the sole reason that can be given for any social institution or form of human activity—I mean not how they came to exist, which is a matter of history, but why we continue to encourage their existence—lies in this: Their existence tends to promote the welfare of human society, to increase social happiness or to strengthen social stability." In the next chapter something will be said concerning his emphasis upon the value of the scientific method to citizenship. It is enough here to point out that the scientific method not only provides technique for the study of social institutions but enables the individual properly to approach his social world. "The man who has accustomed himself to marshal facts, to examine their complex mutual relations, and predict upon the result of this examination their inevitable sequence—sequences which we term natural laws and which are as valid for every normal mind as for that of the individual investigator—such a man, we may hope, will carry his scientific method into the field of social problems. He will scarcely be content with merely superficial statement, with vague appeal to the imagination, to the emotions, to individual prejudices. He will demand a high standard of reasoning, a clear insight into facts and their results, and his demand cannot fail to be beneficial to the community at large."

Scientific Research and the Search After Truth. The sum and substance of the place of scientific method in social relationships will be found in the field of research. We need more than a knowledge of what science is and of what its methods ought to be. There must be action and program. Thus the fruits of science and the scientific method will be gathered through extended study and organized research by many minds, from the beginning student in social problems to the great university "Power house of this spirit." President G. Stanley Hall has said in his *The Life and Confessions of a Psychologist*, "Man is really only just starting on his career as an investigator so that thus research is not only the apex of creative evolution and the highest vocation of man but is the greatest joy that life affords to mortals. He who reveals

and teaches us to command more of the world without and within is the chief benefactor of the race, the true prophet, priest, and king in our day." Says Professor John C. Merriam, "The research spirit represents a reaching out to understand and use all that lies about us. Its expression is as natural to a thinking man as hunger is to the stomach"; and again, "research has been defined as a reaching out to bring together, organize, and interpret whatever may be added to our store of knowledge." In a symposium from the University of Chicago on *The Quest for Truth*, research has been referred to as "the employment of human curiosity for the purpose of enlarging the field of human knowledge in the interest of human progress."

The Spirit of Science. It will be seen from close study of the definitions and methods of science that its unity consists, as Pearson says, not in its material but in its method and in its essential spirit. There are many who believe that the spirit of science and its teachings are as important as its method and content. Perhaps a better statement would be that they are inseparable. Peabody puts it this way: "A greater gain to the world . . . than all the growth of scientific knowledge is the growth of the scientific spirit, with its courage and serenity, its disciplined conscience, its intellectual morality, its habitual response to any disclosure of the truth." Buckley in his *A Short History of Natural Science* reminds us that "it is of great importance that we should all learn this lesson, to have faith in the invincible power of truth; for it would almost seem as if all the experience of the past centuries had hardly yet convinced us." President Hall thought we should give the chief place in the holy of holies to "the university invisible, composed of all those everywhere who are smitten with the passion of adding something to the sum of the world's knowledge, even ever so tiny a brick to the splendid temple of science, which is the supreme creation of man." It is encouraging, therefore, to note that the spirit of science is beginning to leaven the whole lump. One other testimony will suffice: Professor Dinsmore in his volume *Religious Certitude in an Age of Science* concludes that "The most precious gift of science to the world is not her marvelous inventions, her amazing discoveries; her supreme bestowment has been the purpose, the spirit, and the method she has introduced into our thinking." "The spirit of science is freedom

to seek and to find the truth," says Professor Conklin, in *The Direction of Human Evolution.* So far from being dogmatic and proud, science is always open-minded and humble. If to science may be attributed personal, dynamic qualities we should find its prevailing traits to be courage and fearlessness, originality and initiative, tolerance and fairness. Patience, faith, enthusiasm, serenity, poise, discipline, humility, and universality of application are qualities underlying the scientific movement of the age.

Masters of Science. There is no better way to understand the meaning, purpose, method, and spirit of science than through familiarity with the lives of the great pioneers in this field. For the romantic story of science is often the story of the pioneers and masters who have blazed new trails. It would take a long and careful study of such men to understand their method and their contributions. Only a brief glance is needed, however, to reveal their chief qualities, characteristics, and attitudes. From the examination of the biographies of forty scientists who include astronomers, physicists, geologists, botanists, bacteriologists, chemists, men of medicine and many others, we find their leading traits to be patience, perseverance, singleness of purpose, concentration, energy, love of work, desire for eminence, faith in the ultimate outcome, inquisitiveness, devotion to truth, courage, enthusiasm, and the wise use of time.

The Fear of Truth. The belief has been often expressed that the human mind is instinctively afraid of the truth. Why this should be it is difficult to explain. Nevertheless, the experience of individuals and the history of the race seem to justify such a conclusion. It is said that there were those who refused to look through Galileo's telescope for fear that he was speaking the truth. It took only a suggestion from Copernicus that the earth was spherical and not flat, as previously conceived, to create a mighty howl. We need not, however, go back to the renaissance for examples of this fear of truth. Pearson in his *Grammar of Science* states that "Not until 1822 was a decree issued allowing books teaching the motion of the earth about the sun to be printed and published in Rome." This might be compared to recent acts of certain state legislatures prohibiting the teaching of evolution in state-supported schools. There are those who believe that this fear of what is true has been one of the greatest handicaps to

human freedom, happiness, and development. It will be important, therefore, for the student of social problems to inquire constantly into the reasons for these paradoxes as found in human philosophy and human living. Whereas truth is exalted as the greatest good, in actual life it is feared as an evil. It will be important, further, to set in motion such studies and currents of thought as will tend to master this handicap in the future. In a subsequent chapter on Social Change it will be pointed out how the fear of changing conditions may, to some extent, lie at the root of the fear of truth. Likewise, the customs, loyalties, and emotional phases of man's life often militate naturally against this open-minded welcome of truth which may show him to be in error.

This fear of the new has also been extended to innovations in everyday and practical life. To quote from Harris and Butt's *Scientific Research and Human Welfare:* "When a reformer in 1672 learned that there were six stage coaches in England, he thought they should be eliminated because they encouraged too much travel." Keir in *Industrial Organization* tells that when railroads first began to be developed in this country, "A few said it was sinful to travel at the frightful speed of 15 miles an hour since the Lord's intentions were manifest when he provided men and animals with legs but made them incapable of sustained speed. Some were afraid to ride in the cars and some were made ill by the unaccustomed motion." We are also told that when iron plows first appeared to displace the older wooden ones, conservative farmers at first claimed that iron plows poisoned the soil and promoted weed growth. The inventor, Charles Newbold of New Jersey, was said to have spent $30,000 in trying to get farmers to use his first iron plow.

Tolerance and Intolerance. Closely identified with the search after truth is the spirit of tolerance, and akin to the fear of truth is the powerful spirit of intolerance. The intolerance of the monks of the middle ages did much to arrest the progress of medicine. They proclaimed that to seek relief from disease in medicine was not in harmony with their teachings and that the mutilation of the body by surgery was sacrilege. The story of Vesalius is one of the most notable examples of intolerance. Because he dared to defy the decrees of the church and seek the truth concerning

the human body, he was forced by the College of the Inquisition to make a penitential journey to Jerusalem and was shipwrecked on the way. Similar fates have come to others who have broken from the established mode of thinking. Copernicus was hailed as an heretic, Herophilus, the anatomist, was denounced as a butcher, Socrates was given the hemlock, Darwin was called an atheist, and Galileo was forced on his knees to promise never again to teach his theories. When inoculation was first offered as a preventive of smallpox there was a loud protest. Andrew Dickson White in *A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom* cites the case of Rev. Edward Massey of England who in 1772 preached and published a sermon entitled "The Dangerous and Sinful Practice of Inoculation." Among the invectives against the practice were "that diseases are sent by Providence for the punishment of sin; and that the proposed attempt to prevent them is a diabolical operation." We are told further that the struggle against it was equally as strong in this country. When Dr. Boylston of Boston in 1721 began making experiments in inoculation the protest and violence of the people grew to such an extent that there was a demand for his trial for murder. "So bitter was this opposition that Dr. Boylston's life was in danger; it was considered unsafe for him to be out of his house in the evening; a lighted grenade was even thrown into the house of Cotton Mather, who had favored the new practice, and had sheltered another clergyman who had submitted himself to it."

The Need for Tolerance. The history of mankind's search for freedom is the story of constant battle between tolerance and intolerance. On the one hand tolerance makes ready the way of truth, and on the other intolerance closes the door against the new. During recent years in America there seems to have grown up a resurgence of the medieval spirit of intolerance. This spirit has expressed itself in all parts of the country and in many phases of American life. It is visible not only in the fields of religion and science but also in the fields of business and government. For a while it seemed to endanger much that is best in our modern educational progress. Can we now turn this struggle into constructive and profitable education through a better "conflict technique"? President Goodnow of Johns Hopkins University

said recently to his graduating class: "The Nathional Anthem of the people of the United States speaks of our country as 'the land of the free and the home of the brave.' Whatever may be the truth of the characterization of America as the home of the brave, it is certainly true only in a qualified sense that our country may now or might ever have been selected as *par excellence* the land of the free. . . . Fight intolerance. Bear in mind always the motto of your Alma Mater 'The truth will make you free.' Remember that you may look at things from one point of view while others may look at them from another and as in the case of the shield in the fable both may be right."

The Spirit of Teaching the Truth. It must be kept constantly in mind that dogmatism has little place in the search after truth. The scientists have often, in their eagerness and enthusiasm, proclaimed temporary conclusions as fundamental truth. They have become impatient because hypotheses have not been accepted as law. The history of medicine, for instance, is an excellent example of how increasing research reveals truth as ever-growing and different from preconceived ideas and incomplete conclusions. The teacher, therefore, must needs combine the humility of the worshiper with the open-mindedness of the scientist. He must not be intolerant with his new knowledge and he must always allow the same freedom for inquiry, study, and doubt in his pupils as he demands of the great masters and scientists. Much of the hostility to science and to social guidance is engendered by the failure of teachers, ill-grounded in fundamentals, to recognize their own limitations or the limitations of science. On the other hand truth has been retarded in a thousand ways because of the stubbornness of reactionary minds who follow only the easy road of custom and tradition. That this cannot lead in the long run to the recognition and establishment of social values or to the development of the good life will be seen from further thought and further study of the subject. Westaway says, in his *Scientific Method*, "Perhaps the teacher's most important duty is to inculcate the desire of probing a thing to its depths. The desire for thorough work is one and the same thing with the desire of finding the truth, for a little experience forces us to recognize that the truth is never near the surface, that we must always dig and labor before reaching it."

FOR FURTHER STUDY

For Information

1. Give two concepts of truth, illustrating each.
2. Compare the different wording of a half dozen definitions of science.
3. What is research?
4. What is your conception of tolerance, of the scientific spirit, of freedom?
5. List the social sciences and state briefly the general field of each.

For Stimulating Thought

6. Why have the social sciences developed more slowly than the physical sciences?
7. Does society honor the "inventor" and pioneer in social science in the same way that it does in the material world? Why?
8. Why have people generally been afraid of truth?
9. If both science and religion have universally proclaimed truth a *summum bonum*, what is the basis for their conflict?
10. What are the present obstacles in the way of a greater recognition and more effective use of the social sciences?

For Research and Creative Writing

11. Write briefly the story of a contemporary who has appeared less afraid of the truth than the average individual.
12. Describe the development of the social studies during the last ten years in the schools of a given community.
13. Give illustrations of situations in which intolerance or the fear of truth have resulted in social ill.
14. List in parallel columns notable contributions of the physical sciences and of the social sciences to modern civilization.
15. Make a study of the examples of American intolerance since 1914.

For Practical Application

16. *The Inquiry* from its New York office uses the term "conflict technique." How may modern intellectual conflict be turned into social gain?

17. Draw up a plan for unifying industry, church, and school in matters relating to social study.
18. Illustrate with concrete examples differences between science and art.
19. President Glenn Frank refers to the need of a modern Messiah who can interpret the truths of modern science to the people. Illustrate ways in which this might be approached.
20. Draw up a community plan for the treatment of the socially deficient with the coöperation of medicine, psychiatry, government, education, economics, and law.

For Continuity of Effort

21. Make a list of national organizations or learned societies devoted to the promotion of the social sciences.
22. What civic, social, and cultural groups in America tend to promote liberality of thought and the scientific spirit?
23. In a particular community, state, or region list, with evidence, the individuals of more than local reputation.
24. Make a study of the library facilities and the reading habits of a particular community or region.
25. Discuss the cultural and financial opportunities for specialists in the field of social science in America to-day.

For Effective Reading

26. For special study: the first chapter of Karl Pearson's *Grammar of Science*, Part I of Chaddock's *Principles and Methods of Statistics*, Gidding's *The Scientific Study of Human Society*, White's *A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology*, Whitehead's *Science in the Modern World*, Odum's *American Masters of Social Science*, Ross's *Roads to Social Peace*.
27. For sampling or exhaustive reading: Bogardus, Bouglé, Bristol, Carver, Cattell, Chapin, Curtis, Edman, Greenberg, Ellwood, Harris, Hart, I. G., Lansing, Lindeman, Robinson, Soddy, Small, Thomson, Van Loon, Veblen, Wolfe, Wiggam.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIETY AND THE GOOD LIFE

The Good Life as a Social Objective. From the viewpoint of social guidance, the good life may be interpreted as being the result of the individual's harmonious development of his whole personality and his satisfactory adjustment to his fellow man and to his physical environment. An ultimate goal of all social study and of the science of society is to develop the good society and to teach the individual how to make good in it. The objectives of a good society, therefore, are manifestly bound up with this problem of enabling individuals and groups to approximate the maximum adjustment and the minimum of maladjustment in the world of men and of things. We shall be asking, therefore, many questions concerning this "coming to terms with one's environment; the optimum conditions of living the good life," as Mr. Stuart Chase puts it in *The New Republic* for January 5, 1927. What may we expect anthropology, sociology, economics, history, biology, psychology, social geography to tell us about environment and our adjustment to it? What may we expect them to tell us about the individual and his more perfect development? About social groups and their more perfect development? For the individual, for instance, may we expect these social sciences to help us develop and measure soundness of body, the balanced mind, the sensitive spirit, all functioning in the midst of an evolving society? For the group would Mr. Chase's standard be acceptable, "a cultural environment, where cruelty, exploitation and ignorance are at a minimum and tolerance, kindliness, beauty, art, and science at a maximum."

Concepts of "the Good" Variable. It is important at the outset to keep in mind that concepts of the good, of right, of wrong, and of various other aspects of the good life have always been relative matters. They have differed widely in different periods of time and among different peoples and cultures. The student of social relationships cannot emphasize this too much in his efforts to

find a composite or processive sort of social objective that shall be sufficiently plastic and capable of meeting the needs of society. Mr. Chase has called attention to the fact that the perfect business man of 1926 in America would be entirely out of harmony with the life of Athens in 500 B. C. He continues: "One doubts if even Socrates could have made anything of it; or in Peru in 300 A. D.; or in Central Africa to-day. He would go crashing through countless tabus, exhausting the patience and courtesy of even the most tolerant of hosts, horrifying the commonality beyond repair, and ultimately be fortunate if he escaped not only ostracism, but the sword of the executioner. Only by unlearning most of his American practicality could he survive. And what would *we* do with a practical Babylonian, a practical Tartar, a practical Knight of the Round Table, or even a practical Commissar from Moscow, in New York to-day? He would have to choose between Sing Sing and Bellevue, and that rapidly before the mob winded his practicality." The number of similar illustrations which might be cited can be measured only by the extent of time and variety of culture disclosed by the records of anthropologists and historians. This chapter, therefore, must necessarily be limited to representative examples of the concepts and development of individual and social objectives.

The World's Utopias. One of the most common illustrations of society's search after the good life has been found in its attempt to devise and bring into existence social Utopias. Each Utopia represents a conception of the good life, and a study of a few of them will reveal differences in the concepts of the social good as seen through the aspirations of various writers. In Plato's *Republic* the rule of the intellect was a means whereby an ideal social order might be attained. In recognition of individual variations in mental capacity, he built a hierarchy of classes based on education and intellectual attainment. The communistic society as the Utopian social order is seen also in More's *Utopia* where all men and all women work and where idleness has no place. Besides agriculture which is the most highly respected occupation and which is practiced by every one, each person must have a special trade which he utilizes for the good of society. Campanella's perfect society is also one in which labor is dignified and where there exists as well perfect communism, communism of wives and

communism of property. Mechanical inventions play a significant part in perfecting this ideal régime. To Bacon the *summum bonum* of a perfect state is the search for "knowledge and the causes and secret motions of things." His is a society teaming with research laboratories and scientific specialists who after traveling for twelve years in search of knowledge return to contribute the results of their findings. Bellamy's conception of a Utopian society is one in which private property and economic inequality are eliminated. His society is an industrial unit, with governmental control of industry and compulsory labor for all. And finally H. G. Wells creates in *A Modern Utopia* the ideal of a single unified world-community where, as in Plato's state, education and intellectual attainment are master forces and are criteria for admission into the ruling class or Samurai.

Truth Itself a Summum Bonum. In the preceding chapter it was pointed out that truth and the search after truth were in themselves admirable objectives, the attainment of which would contribute to social harmony and happiness. From the viewpoint of the individual and society, therefore, the good life is promoted by the search after truth, and our discussion of the highest good or *summum bonum* may well begin with this approach. And we may cite no less an authority than Karl Pearson, who says:

> Apart from the increased physical comfort, apart from the intellectual enjoyment which modern science provides for the community—points often and loudly insisted upon to which I shall briefly refer later—there is another and more fundamental justification for the time and energy spent in scientific work. From the standpoint of morality, or from the relation of the individual unit to other members of the same social group, we have to judge each human activity by its outcome in *conduct*. How, then, does science justify itself in its influence on the conduct of men as citizens? I assert that the encouragement of scientific investigation and the spread of scientific knowledge by largely inculcating scientific habits of mind will lead to more efficient citizenship and so to increased social stability. Minds trained to scientific methods are less likely to be led by mere appeal to the passions or by blind emotional excitement to sanction acts which in the end may lead to social disaster. In the first and foremost place, therefore, I lay stress upon the educational side of modern science, and state my position in some such words as these: *Modern science, as training the mind to an exact and impartial analysis of facts, is an educatoin specially fitted to promote sound citizenship.*

The Masters and the Good Life. We have shown above that the open-minded and diligent pursuit after truth on the part of scholars has resulted in the development of strong personalities and leaders in the field of the sciences. A similar study made of great individuals who have notably succeeded in social and political life gives another excellent picture of the qualities of the good life which are conducive alike to success, happiness, and growth in the individual, and service to society. The following traits seem to be the chief measures of the good life as gleaned from the lives of 100 selected leaders in the fields of politics, education, history, and other phases of social life:

Patience	Singleness of purpose	Humility
Tolerance	Energy	Love of work
Faith	Cheerfulness	Serenity
Ability to lead	Altruism	Devotion to truth
Perseverance	Diversity of interests	Open-mindedness
Concentration	Dynamic personality	Desire for eminence
Optimism	Poise	Inquisitiveness
Ability to follow	Tact	Originality
Initiative		

Education and the Good Life. Bertrand Russell, in his new volume on *Education and the Good Life*, emphasizes four attributes which seem to him to be most important. These are *vitality*, *courage*, *sensitiveness*, *intellect*. It is easily seen how necessary these are in the development of the social personality of the individual and in the development of leaders for society. It is evident that vitality must include physical, mental, and spiritual powers and the prepotency of an individual to influence his own and later generations. It is clear also that courage will be an essential to success in any of the larger aspects of life and must always bring with it strong development of personality. Sensitiveness to the great facts of life, to social conditions, to general environment, to personalities and situations will be the basis of much of the best creative work. With these three intellect becomes a powerful motor through which the courses of life may be well directed. Other educators and students may add still other qualities, but these are mentioned only as examples of the ends to be attained by society in the development of the strong individual.

President Eliot's Classification. One of the best discussions of the good life from the viewpoint of the individual as a product of the good society is President Eliot's essay on *Education for Efficiency*. The following qualities have been gleaned from his little book:

Concentration	Weighing of evidence	Inventing of solution
Discernment of beauty	Consecutive thinking	Drawing of accurate conclusions
Judgment	Enjoyment of liberty	Wise use of liberty
Scientific spirit	Quick perception	Self-reliance
Moderation	Progressiveness	Sympathy with nature
Knowledge of contemporary world	General knowledge of many things	Constructive imagination
Trained will power	Passion for truth	Independence
Truthfulness	Proportion	Skill
Knowledge of history	Specialized knowledge of some particular thing	Open-mindedness
Literary appreciation		

Religion and the Good Life. A summary of the qualities of the good life as found in the great religions and gleaned from Mr. Martin's *The Fellowship of Faiths* gives an accurate concept of what the peoples of the world in different ages have believed to be the good life in the midst of social relationships:

Brotherhood and community	The strong character—goodness, purity, honor
Vitalized religion and worship	Work and industry
Duty and diligence	Sincerity and genuineness
Unselfishness and devotion	Integrity and honor
Justice and righteousness	Nobility of the inward soul and self
Spiritual abundance rather than material wealth	Fortitude in adversity
Peace rather than war	Humaneness and sympathy
Humility and meekness	Friendship and fidelity
Tolerance and catholicity	Love and charity
The golden rule	The common good
Nature and God	Prayer and supplication
God and the Divine	

Negative Aspects. Something of the prevailing conception of the good life may also be gleaned from an examination of the

qualities which have universally been considered bad. Religious and moral leaders have been accustomed to direct their energies not only to the development of the good qualities but to the prevention of the bad. The following are attributes which do not contribute to the good life, as epitomized in the great religious codes:

Slighting the man in low estate	Enmity and envy	Neglecting the stranger or person of other race
Greed and unlawful gains	Boastfulness and pride	Selfishness
Intemperance in speech and conduct	Sexual appetites	Lying and deceit
Cruelty and inhumanity	Neglect of duty	Indifference to the welfare of mankind
Hatred and anger	Intolerance and persecution	Pleasure and lust
Temper and violence	Unchastity and impurity	Hypocrisy and insincerity
Gossip and backbiting	Idleness and laziness	
	Faithlessness	

Folk Wisdom and the Good Life. One of the most interesting and important of all modern inquiries will be that of studying the difference between social and moral ideals as expressed in the folk wisdom of the past and the actual standards and ideals of individual and group conduct in the present. Next to the influence of the great religions upon individual life and conduct the folk wisdom as expressed in proverbs has generally been considered most important. From thousands of these proverbs gathered from all peoples one may find valuable indices of what values society has evolved respecting conduct and the good life. While the wit and wisdom of the world as expressed through proverbial channels usually becomes mechanical and formal, nevertheless it is generally agreed that proverbs are representative of the cream of folk wisdom. Proverbs have been called "condensed good sense of nations," "the wisdom of years," "the jewels of the multitude," "all the good sense of the world"; and whether efficacious or not as vital social forces, certainly as expressions of universal experience they have had a powerful effect upon conduct. As a basis for the further examination of what folk society has called the good life and for our later study of social values we may select the chief

qualities representative of the *summum bonum* as found in the world's proverbs. The basis for this selection is Lawson's *The World's Best Proverbs and Maxims.*

Courage	Diligence	Economy	Faith
Freedom	Curiosity	Duty	Energy
Fortitude	Goodness	Gratitude	Health
Honor	Justice	Knowledge	Liberty
Manliness	Modesty	Patriotism	Perseverance
Self-denial	Happiness	Honesty	Humility
Kindness	Learning	Love	Mercy
Patience	Peace	Religion	Virtue

The Bad as the Good. A careful study of the commandments of folk wisdom will show, however, many important contrasts with present-day life. One may select, for instance, a number of proverbial qualities, commonly assumed to lead to the unhappy life, which in the modern era stand out either as prevailing ideals and objectives or as prevailing necessities of a complex civilization. Here then is conflict between ancient wisdom and modern civilization, between folk commandments and civilized expediency. To what extent does this conflict lie at the bottom of our modern social situation? To what extent does modern variation from the older ideals represent progress? The folk wisdom names almost universally as impediments to the good life such factors as prosperity, riches, success, pleasure, ambition. These, on the other hand, often stand as the chief goal toward which modern youth and modern maturity move. Extravagance, respect for outward appearances, haste, leisure time are commonly reputed to be the chief symptoms of the modern era. In the old wisdom they are paths that lead to destruction. In the old wisdom solitude, friendship, self-realization, gentleness, obedience were prime qualities that are most difficult to acquire in the modern world. Are these conflicts, then, not important starting points for the study of social problems and social values?

The Challenge of Present-day Confusion. It is commonly assumed that present emergencies in the economic and social world result from the struggle of reactionary principles and practices against progress and liberalism. And yet it might be well for the student of social problems to ask whether or not the ideals of

modern reactionaries, though generally not conducive to social growth and development, do not to some extent derive legitimately from the evolved wisdom of the social and moral development of the past. It is incumbent upon the student of the present day to distinguish between those forces in modern society which should be championed and those which have superseded more worthy forces of the past. The disquieting forms in which the confusion of contemporary life rises to challenge the student to-day can be seen by the following summary of some of the dangers of our present society as given in Page's and Eddy's *Makers of Freedom:*

Economic perils due to gross inequality of privilege, with extreme luxury for some and dire physical need for many;

Disgraceful housing conditions in many cities and industrial communities;

Concentration of vast financial power in the hand of interlocking directorates;

Widespread industrial strife and violence;

The spy system in industry;

Decreasing supplies of raw materials;

Increasing foreign competition;

The steady growth of class-consciousness;

The deliberate stimulation of new physical desires on a great scale by advertising;

Industrial waste;

The dehumanizing effects of monotonous toil in factories and shops;

The rapid spread of materialism;

International dangers arising out of the increasing destructiveness and deadliness of modern war;

The growth of industrialism throughout the earth and consequent intensification of competition between the various nations for food, raw materials, markets and fields of investment;

Exaggerated and irresponsible nationalism;

Prevalence of militarism;

Racial perils due to discrimination, exploitation, lynching, and mob violence;

Political perils due to graft and corruption, ignorance and inefficiency, the denial of civil liberties, indifference of voters, and the magnitude and complexity of the problems requiring solution;

Moral dangers due to crime and lawlessness, a million drug addicts, two hundred thousand prostitutes, eight million victims of venereal diseases, sordid commercialized amusements, the growth of obscene

literature, the deterioration of the home, the increase of divorce, the presence of twenty-seven million children and young people who are not receiving systematic religious instruction.

A challenge of such giant proportions cannot be met easily or quickly nor without an inquiry into the social forces both past and present which have produced such symptoms.

Social Qualities and Social Products. Does it appear sometimes, from a comparison of present dangers with ancient wisdom, that somewhere in the line of social development man has turned aside from his maxims of social health and the good life to artificial standards, just as he has in his physical and biological living? Does it seem important to observe the danger which comes from ignoring the signposts of history and past experience and from substituting mechanical and artificial norms? That is, is it not one of the supreme tasks of the social sciences to sift the false from the true as they both come to us out of the past in order to make way for truth and its direction of the future? Continuing the plan of listing representative indices of the good life, it will be well for us, therefore, to look at some of the group objectives and abstract values which society up to the present time has set forth as plausible means and ends to the good life and the good society. Many of the standard moral attributes, such as forbearance, faithfulness, trustworthiness, altruism, sympathy, charity, service, endurance, and others are clearly border-line qualities lying between the individual good life and social virtue.

Social Means and Social Objectives. There are other product-forces, however, which seem to represent historical ideas of the social good. Leonard T. Hobhouse's term for this social objective is "the rational good." Some of these qualities are listed below, without classification or order, to indicate the wide range of ideals and the further need of study and correlation as well as to show their relation to the individual and to society.

Justice	Security	Social adjustment
Struggle	Community	Pleasure-pain conflict
Peace without victory	Social harmony	Social telesis
Truth	Nationalism	Freedom, liberty, fraternity
Coöperation	Social heredity	Wholesome use of leisure

Conflict	Social control	Religion
Expediency	Government	The golden mean
Democracy	Social solidarity	Patriotism
Internationalism	Social change	Social culture

Historical Examples of Social Objectives. The history and literature of peoples will yield rich ore in the study of personal and social ideals. The Greeks were wont to believe that the highest good was found in the beautiful; the Romans sometimes thought valor supreme; the resulting ideal was "the glory that was Greece and the grandeur that was Rome." Nevertheless, there was never sufficiently complete harmony between individual and social ideals to guarantee perpetuity of the good life. In much the same way the "institutional character" of nations and sections always reflects types of ideals and objectives. There have been days in medieval Europe and in the old South of the United States when chivalry seemed supreme. There have been days when heroism in war was the highest good. There may yet come days when peace itself will be the goal. In Germany there were advocates of might; in India there are the apostles of non-resistance. Literatures of all peoples have set forth heroes of the good life ranging from Ulysses of the many wanderings to the hobo of modern America. And there are the scores of modern cults and creeds: the cult of culture, the cult of intellect, the cult of money, the cult of pleasure, and all the other varicolored patchwork of the struggle towards the good life.

Specialized Objectives. Closely related to the whole problem of the good life and of social objectives is the modern tendency towards standards. Specialization in the field of science and industry has not only demanded but has effected standards of achievement and standards of conduct and ethics within many special fields. The highest good, like truth, must vary with individuals and with situations, although, as we shall see, there are consistent and uniform principles underlying its attainment in all fields. In terms of traditional measurements, to the philosopher the highest good is wisdom; to the teacher and student it is instruction and learning; to the scholar it is knowledge and truth; to the minister it is goodness; to the physician it is health. The "gentleman" thinks of honor; the lover dreams of romance; the artist of beauty; the poet of form and harmony; the athlete of power and stamina.

Mr. Tupper, in his *Types of Society in Medieval Literature*, enumerates various medieval invectives against the limitations of every calling. For instance, he calls attention to the "worldliness of the prelates," "the laziness of the monks," "the avarice and false witness of the lawyers," "the fraud of merchants," so pointing out how each of the various degrees of society had departed from its true virtue. Thus the several disciplines of learning and the manifold activities of life conspire together to make possible and necessary a wide range of avenues through which the good life may be attained and through which it may be promoted for all society.

Standards and Codes. This criticism of standards in various professions and types of business has resulted of late years in the formulation of definite codes of conduct and higher standards of achievement. Thus in specific instances it is clear that ideals and high standards promote the success of groups as well as that of the individual. Mr. Edgar L. Heermance turned aside in his preparation of a book on social ethics to list in his book *Codes of Ethics* some seven score examples of professional and business codes as representative of contemporary standards. He believes that the ethical movement of the present generation "is part of the adjustment of our race to the particular kind of world in which we live." He thinks there are laws of ethics as well as of physics and biology. He thinks the written code, while effective as a means of accomplishing results, is not a law but a sort of creed and that it does not always indicate a higher standard or reflect actual conduct. The listing of prevailing standards and codes is more accurate and scientific in some ways than the previous evidence from proverb, traditions and religion, since codes for teachers or doctors or journalists or workers as adopted by organized groups indicate precisely the measures of the highest good in each of their particular fields. In the entire list from advertising, agriculture, and art to undertaking and veterinary medicine, there will be found illuminating case studies of what each group considers the highest standard of achievement to which its individual members should conform.

A General Measure of the Highest Good. From these and many other examples it may be seen that efforts to attain the good life have been both varied and heroic. In the midst of this wide

diversity is it possible to find some generic or organic process through which the good life may be approached? What then is the highest good, which shall include the fullest development of the individual and make room for the potential progress of the race? What are the conditions which such a quality or process must meet in order to constitute a permanent, generic, and universal value? First, it must be something which is attainable by all, rather than by the few, or of such a nature that society, having chosen it, will be able to approximate it for all its individuals. Wealth could not be attained by all; therefore it is not tenable. Happiness may not be attained by all, at all times. Success, in the common sense, is for the relatively few. Honor, position, health—all these cannot be attained by all groups and hence if set as the supreme objectives must remain unequal goals. They are desirable secondary objectives, subject to other organic and social conditions. The second condition which must be met in attempting to measure or determine an organic "highest good" is that it shall be permanent when attained—else the futility of seeking that which may be immediately lost. Wealth attained may not last; health attained may be but temporary; happiness attained by individual effort may be lost by relatives and friends; positions of honor become in a day recollections of the past; heroes of this year are forgotten the next.

Growth and Development. What, therefore, is the highest good to which every individual may aspire and to the attainment of which for its members society should direct its energies? It will be found in the process of *growth* and development. To grow into the maximum of personality, character, adaptation, achievement, perfection of normality, is the supreme process of the race. The greatest thing that can be said of the individual is that he shall grow and grow; the worst is that he shall fail to grow. For society to achieve conditions under which every individual may develop into normal power and in which no individual may reach abnormal limits is, then, the desirable goal. The practical aspect of such a *summum bonum* will be seen when we reflect a little later that democracy itself means that every individual shall have a chance to grow; that is supreme. The further practical aspects of this concept are that only when the individual has *grown* can he attain the secondary objectives mentioned numerously above; and that

with his growth to maximum achievement he always will attain the desired secondary ends for which he is fitted. The final task of society becomes, therefore, the task of defining and determining both the full score of attainments to which the individual may grow and the programs through which human institutions may guarantee him opportunity.

Varied Measures. From this will arise high standards of professional development. There will be higher and higher standards for the lawyer, the teacher, the preacher, the business man, the physician, the everyday citizen and worker, all of which, however, but harmonize with the organic objective of growth. In the process will come not only specialized and secondary ideals, but also many methods of attainment. Work, play, association—these are means and steps in the process. Here are the challenges to health, education, industry, community, science, eugenics, the democratic ideal. Here arises the demand for moral guidance and moral education such as was recently evidenced in a census of school superintendents in this country. Of some 1,300 who indicated preferences for special features of the curriculum, the majority voted for moral instruction in the schools. That is, moral growth is one of the things predominantly adjudged by school officials to be needed in this search after the essence of the good life.

Social Guidance and the Good Life. In all the history of society one of its most difficult labors, still far from completed, has been that of giving social and moral direction to the training and development of the individual. More and more the task of the teacher is recognized as a social task. The teacher must know not only books and things, but also folks. He must know science, not only as a body of organized knowledge, but also to the end that he may know human nature and the processes of its socialization. Likewise, therefore, not only the teacher but the school, as the most central and comprehensive of all institutions, is coming more and more to recognize the social significance of its tasks; and if the school then the community at large, and then in turn other institutions. What the schools and the other institutions have not yet discovered nor put into effect, what society and civilization have not yet found, is a permanent standard of social value. This is true both for the individual and for the group at large.

There are many examples of individuals who have attained the good life in such way as to give them length of days and happiness; but society and education have not yet been able to guarantee that the majority of its individuals will attain such assured mastery over life or that permanent social ideals and values will be passed on from generation to generation. Likewise, groups there have been, and many, which for a limited number of generations have made social progress and have found such social values as would lead to survival; but society has no record of nations or races advancing over long periods with unimpaired social efficiency. This is in substance the most important task of civilization; it is the next great step and it will be reached not simply through moral aspects of education, but through the coördinated working together of institutions looking to the twofold objectives: growth for the individual, social progress for the group.

Individual, Moral, and Social Phases of the Good Life. It will be seen from the preceding discussion that emphasis upon the *summum bonum* or the good life is placed in this book upon its social meaning rather than upon its ethical and moral implications. It is important, however, for the student to recall the long struggle of philosophers to determine the nature of the good in individual conduct. The important discussions of the *summum bonum* as determined by custom and as worked out by reflection are all-important. Definitions of "the good" as action or end or character or conduct or duty or virtue have all had their valuable results. These various ethical theories of the good are worthy of careful study. There is the hedonistic, which assumes pleasure, in its varied forms, to be the *summum bonum*. The rationalistic, with its cynicism, stoicism, and individualism, has played an important part in the development of social ideals. The theories of volition and of the development of personality are still effective in the determination of ideals. Professor Henry W. Wright has concluded that "self-realization" is the greatest ethical good. He divides the virtues into three groups:

I. Individual

Temperance. The habit of restraining single impulses and desires in the interest of individual well being.

Prudence. The habit of furthering individual comfort and security through the due subordination of single impulses and desires.

Courage. The habit of sacrificing individual safety and comfort in the attainment of a larger and more comprehensive good.

Idealism. (Wisdom, Efficiency, Refinement.) The habit of exercising the higher spiritual capacities of the individual at the expense of his material comfort and pleasure.

II. Social

Kindness. The habit of surrendering individual interest when this is known to conflict with the interest of another.

Friendship. The habit of promoting another's welfare with disregard for one's own interest.

Justice. The habit of subordinating individual interest, whether of self or of others, to the good of humanity.

Benevolence. The habit of promoting the welfare of all fellow men, whether in community, nation, or world, by means of individual effort and initiative.

III. Religious

Reverence. The subordination of human interests to the ends of Universal Intelligence.

Piety. The adoption by man of the Universal Purpose as his good.

The Good Life and the Individual. The student of social problems will now need, therefore, to study a little more fully the individual unit of society so that he can understand the manifold relations of the individual and his social groups. Professor Blackmar in his *Justifiable Individualism*, reminds us that "All progress starts and ends with the individual being. He is the material out of which the superstructure of civilization is reared. This little human dynamo is the source of the power in which the world takes pride. While our education, our religion, our social reform have become mass plays, it should be understood that political, religious, or social organizations will not in themselves redeem the human mind from error nor establish happiness among mankind. The world cannot be redeemed by formula; men may not be educated or reformed in phalanxes. Nevertheless the great organized social activity of modern life seems to have thrust aside the individual as an ideal. At least the old theory that if the individual, sound in body, sound in mind, with sterling moral

qualities were properly trained, he would carry into the world the leaven of righteousness and leaven the whole lump, has been overshadowed by the gigantic mass play of social reform as a means of human progress. So the conclusion is reached by many reformers that individualism has no place in social progress and advancement is conditioned by the rule of the mass. The error consists in repudiation of the individual instead of his regeneration." The next chapter will discuss the relation of the individual and of social differences to the great social objectives; while later chapters will present important phases of the whole problem of social values and social progress.

FOR FURTHER STUDY

For Information

1. In the light of this chapter interpret the phrase, "The quest for social guidance."
2. Discuss classical illustrations of the *summum bonum.*
3. List twenty of the most commonly discussed evils of the present day.
4. Write out well worded and definite statements of common concepts of good, bad, right, and wrong.
5. Select any two of the stories on Utopias and compare their essence.

For Stimulating Thought

6. Discuss the good life from the viewpoint of religion, business, education.
7. In the March, 1927, *Harper's* Mr. Boas argues that human nature is really being changed by a new process of thinking in terms of relative values. Contrast the modern measurement of art, morals, science with the old fixed standards.
8. Contrast the modern concept of Utopia with Plato's New Republic.
9. Contrast Bertrand Russell's objectives of the good life with the more common ideals of virtue, goodness, honor, and the like.
10. Give illustrations in which the "wisdom of proverbs" does not conform to truths.

For Research and Creative Writing

11. From a study of any half dozen volumes selected from the bibliography in the back of the book list all of the objectives—educational, social, religious, economic—which are presented as the *summum bonum.*
12. Compare in parallel columns the objectives of modern social ideals of Christianity and earlier formal creedal Christianity.
13. Draw up a plan for testing the relation between religious and philosophical idealism and social goodness, illustrated in actual life.
14. Make a study of efforts in the last ten years to enforce goodness through legislation in a single state.
15. Write in simple and attractive form a short sketch concerning some selected reformer.

For Practical Application

16. Illustrate modern concepts of the good life in business.
17. What are some of the ethical codes of medicine?
18. What are the modern requirements of the good teacher?
19. From the study of some biography of the "bad man," compare his ideals with those of an accepted "good" leader.
20. Discuss the good life and the restlessness of modern youth.

For Continuity of Effort

21. Chart the purposes and objectives of the Rotary, Kiwanis, Civitans, Lions, and other service community clubs with reference to the good life.
22. Make an analysis of the social objectives of the American Legion.
23. What are the opportunities for the community church to contribute to new social values?
24. Discuss the fundamental significance of the influence of religion upon the good life.
25. Is the world "better" or "worse" in this generation than it used to be?

For Effective Reading

26. For special study: Bouglé's *Evolution of Values*, Russell's *Education and the Good Life*, Eliot's *Education for Efficiency*, Odum and others' *American Masters of Social Science*, Mumford's *The Story of Utopias*.

27. For sampling or exhaustive reading: Eliot, Heermance, Hepner, Hertzler, Hines, Hobhouse, Hocking, Hollingworth, Kohs, Leopold, Morgan, C. L., Morgan, de W., Mumford, Russell, Bertrand, Wells, H. G.

CHAPTER V

THE INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIETY

Social Theory and the Individual. In his summary of Leonard T. Hobhouse's *Social Theory* Mr. Hugh Carter emphasizes the fact that "fundamental to social theory is a scheme of *ends* or values to the individual which are to fit him into his social group and the wider society." Thus, in addition to the good life of the individual, observed from the viewpoint of his own happiness and his own actions, as in the preceding chapter, the importance of the individual as a social unit can scarcely be overestimated in the whole plan of social study and social theory. One of the best statements of the emphasis which society should place upon the developed individual in the whole scheme of collective life was that given by Professor Giddings a good many years ago, in his reference to the function of society as being "to develop and safeguard the higher types of human personality." In recent years this emphasis has come to constitute a popular basis for the interpretation of social needs, for the statement of social goals, and for the explanation of certain tendencies. Thus Miss Follett refers to a "technique of human relations based on the preservation of the integrity of the individual." "What we care about," she says, "is the *productive life* and the first test of the productive power of collective life is its nourishment of the individual." Likewise the psychologists have provided valuable theories and conclusions to assist the social student and social worker in placing the proper emphasis on the relation of the individual to the whole social pattern. Allport, for example, insists that "only *within the individual* can we find the behaviour mechanisms and the consciousness which are fundamental in the interaction between individuals." And Watson points out that "the twentieth century promises to be an epoch in which man, after centuries of effort expended in the attempt to extend his limited knowledge of the universe, will take up the study of himself in a spirit of intelligent, active interest, striving earnestly, and in a measure successfully,

to attain self-knowledge. The truth which will eventually make men free will be the truth revealed by patient, careful study of the human individual." So, too, psychology entering into the practical realm of education, and psychiatry into the whole field of social work, are approaching the social problem from new angles. And the newer efforts of the sociologists and social workers through the case method of study and work, in evaluating normality and abnormality combine to give promise of greater results for social science by means of a stronger emphasis upon the individual as one avenue of approach.

A Changing Emphasis. Thus the student might find multiplied evidence of the newer emphasis upon the individual in scores of books and treatises seeking to interpret society and social adjustment. He will find, however, that this emphasis upon the individual is different from the individualism of the older humanists or the disciplinarians of other days, and has little in common with the theological concepts of individual salvation; for it is an emphasis relating to the "social adjustment of individuals and the broader problems of society." And society has not always magnified the individual in this way nor has the educator sought him out. In one of his many analytic classifications of civilizations Professor Giddings points out how a first stage of civilization is characterized by "sovereignty, political consolidation, militarism, regimentation, coercion and standardization; a second stage by the developing of constitutionality and by the policies of liberalism; while the third state, made possible by science, will be characterized by respect for individuality . . . for self-determination, for liberty of thought, speech and action, and for free moral agency and responsibility." Indications are that the swing back from all-communistic theories of human genesis and development, once held enthusiastically, is now bringing us into this third stage; and likewise the conquest of the democratic over the autocratic ideals of government has resulted in a similar reaction. Thus, where the older thinkers held that the individual existed in order to make possible the superorganizations of society, it is now maintained that society seeks better organization only for the purpose of serving the individual. There is, therefore, a fine harmony between the two present-day tendencies, the one on the part of students and social scientists to explain in large part through the individual the

genesis of social control and direction, and the other on the part of the social philosophers and social workers to find in the individual the best of all social objectives. Here arise then for the student two major problems of the first importance: the first to study and measure the individual to see what manner of man he is and can be; the second to direct him through social emphasis and education into the paths of the adequate life. Having done this the student will have eliminated many of the unknown and subjective factors in the way of his study of social problems and will have paved the way for much that is most promising in social programs.

The Individual as a Key to Social Study. The individual is of peculiar importance in the whole scheme of social study not only because he represents the objective of society and is an index to the promotion of the good life by the good society, but also because in him will be found the key to the understanding of society and its problems. The individual, socially related, is the smallest unit of society. The individual is the unit upon which the institutions are built. Individual and social differences represent the basis of much modern social study and social work. Thus the student of social problems must follow his inquiry into the good life and the highest possibilities of the individual by asking many questions concerning the individual himself. Of what sort is he? In what ways do individuals differ? What social differences are there to make or mar the individual and to influence him in his social relationships? How is he related to the institutions? How are the institutions related to him? What ways of testing his general and specific abilities? What ways are there of guiding him into social living? What ways of making the free individual also the socially-minded component of society?

Measuring the Individual. How, then, shall we measure the individual, with his inherent differences from other individuals, with his personality-product of adaptation to environment, with his character traits, with his ever-present social potential of the future, and with his present rating according to social standards and ideals? While many testing scales have been worked out and utilized for intelligence and other individual qualities it is clear, as Allport points out, that "evaluation and measurement take us immediately into the social sphere," emphasizing again the social

relationship of the individual. Perhaps no movement within recent years has made more progress or become more popular in the larger sense of the word, than the adoption of scales for measuring individuals of all sorts with special reference to numerous qualities of character, ability, and adaptation. Although much that is unscientific and unsound has been produced, undoubtedly such new statistical material and objective methods will contribute something to the effectiveness of sociology in its advance toward scientific precision. One of the opportunities of the student of social problems is to get acquainted with the best of this method in its technique and results. The scope of such information, however, is great enough to require extended study, so that our task here must be limited to general information about its nature and methods, with specific illustrations that will interpret situations and problems.

Individual Differences in Types of Work. Perhaps the best approach to the study of the individual will be through certain general measures of individual differences. Professor North in *Social Differentiation* has pointed out admirably the importance of individual differences. Individuals differ first according to the type of work they perform. An increasingly complex society gives rise to more and more occupations and opportunities until, as at present, there are thousands of different types of work in professions, skilled labor and unskilled labor. Not only in industrial life is there such minute division of labor as that found in the Ford plant, where a worker, without knowing the function of his small task in the making of the whole, may mechanically turn a screw as each chassis passes by, but even in the newly developed social sciences there are the social technician, the social theorist, the research specialist, and the social worker. Division of labor and specialization have served to increase the range and complexity of various occupations. The U. S. census for 1920 lists a total of 572 occupations, but their number and variety would seem even more amazing could we get a picture of the minutest division of labor within each of them.

Differences in Social Rank and Culture. Throughout the history of the world individuals and groups have been ranked as different because of their social status. There have been men of noble lineage and noble prerogatives with the mass of folk of

inferior rank standing over against them aspiring and longing for privileges similar to theirs. Individuals have differed widely because of their wealth and economic status. They have differed because of political and religious status. They have differed because of family and hereditary standing and because of many artificial social standards. In the old days there were the slaves and the free. In certain parts of the world there are the differences of social caste. Individuals differ also because of language, religion, and general education and culture. They differ because of interests and cultivation and opportunity. In these individual differences the student of social problems will find a key to the task of securing equality of opportunity and democracy.

Organic Differences. Important in the understanding of the individual and his relation to society are the organic differences. In America we often affirm that there are no closed classes. Nevertheless, for the time being, there are ineradicable and fundamental differences between individuals because of age, sex, race, and biological inheritance and variation. The question of age is of great importance in studying the development of the individual and his conduct, as for instance in the study of juvenile delinquency and of the youth movement. The question of sex is of supreme importance always and particularly in the modern era with the enlargement of the rights and privileges of women and the challenging of certain standards. The question of differences because of race, always important, assumes new proportions in the present age of closer international relationships and communication. Finally, the whole question of the differences of individuals in temperament, intellect, and all other inherited variations lies at the bottom of much of the new social science and educational guidance.

Differences in Ability and Intelligence. Individual differences had been neglected so long that of recent years the enthusiasm for intelligence tests and for measuring other phases of special abilities and reactions has perhaps led to exaggerated ideas of their value. There has grown up a sort of cult of the intellect and a species of human censorship in which the modern intellectuals have exceeded Plato in their advocacy of the rule of the intellect. A minority of intellectuals, often limited in the power to reproduce the race, would sometimes delegate to themselves measures of social con-

trol, inimical to wholesome social development. The student of social problems need only remind himself that the intellect cannot be the sole guide of life because it is only a part of the great composite character of humanity. A common mistake, too, has been to misuse the terms intelligence and intellect and to measure them by current artificial standards of conduct or by social and cultural experience. Thus the extreme advocates of intelligence tests as the major guide to human abilities have ignored the great factors of social prepotency and general spiritual qualities. Nevertheless, the whole movement for testing the varied abilities of individuals is one of the most important in the field of social study. In proportion as these tests may discover the truth and point out desirable qualities, traits and methods for individual and social development, they will prove invaluable guides. Professor Giddings has emphasized important products when he classifies groups of individuals in accordance with their outstanding intellectual qualities coupled with the power to reproduce the race, as opposed to the great group of individuals of lower abilities and weaker powers with a like capacity for reproduction, and again to that group of individuals of ability who have but little capacity to reproduce the race.

Types of Tests. Perhaps the whole movement of mental and social testing may be said to center around three interests. The one is the purely scientific interest of psychology, biology, eugenics, and other disciplines. Another is the educational interest in which knowledge of individual and social differences is utilized to promote a more efficient teaching process. A third is the larger social interest in which there is some conflict between the ideals of democracy and equal opportunity and the cult of selection. Is the youth, for instance, who by formal tests makes a poor showing, to be refused the opportunity of a college education? Does the college student who fails in his examinations turn out sometimes to be the stone rejected by the builders, achieving distinction in a larger world? Efforts to resolve the scientific problems which are here present, have centered upon three or four general types of tests. There are the detailed intelligence tests, the tests of special capacities, the tests of non-intellectual or personality traits, and tests of social adaptation, the last of which have not yet been well developed. There is a great mass of material here

which has been gathered from hundreds of scholars and workers in the field and the advanced student will find much to help him in his research. The list of tests, of books, and of discussions would itself make a good-sized volume. Included, besides general tests of "intelligence" and "ability," would be those of originality, achievement, information, adaptation, and the whole list of tests in the special subjects—language, reading, vocabulary, grammar, mathematics, and the others.

The Individual and the Institution. In previous chapters we have pointed out the importance of critical self-examination by the institutions to see to what extent they were fulfilling their social obligations to the individual. We have pointed out the importance of the institution as a buffer between the individual and the rapidly changing world. And we have found that one of the chief critical problems of the modern era lies in the lack of flexibility shown by many of the institutions. There is, too, the other side to the question. The institution not only owes service and guidance to the individual but the institution must depend for its strength upon its member individuals. It is, therefore, very important for us to measure the individual in his relation to the institution, both in order to gauge the needs and obligations of the institution and the responsibility of the individual himself. We have pointed out how institutions have often failed because they ignored the rights of the individual and the functions of other institutions. What, then, is the function of the individual toward the institution? Whatever the changes in the form of church or school or family or industry, it must be clear that the vitality and power of such institutions, as well as their form, must be examined from the viewpoint of the individual's contribution. Without, therefore, assigning too much importance to the more or less formal and mechanical measurement of the individual's relation to the several institutions, we ought, nevertheless, to raise important questions respecting the individual and the institution. Six arbitrary tables of measurement, therefore, will be presented as types, using the method of position in a scale.

General Measuring Scales. The plan of measuring scales given below provides that the middle point or zero be considered a sort of norm applying to what at present appears to be a majority in typical communities. Experience in checking this in average

communities shows that the norm is fairly well selected. Manifestly, the ideal of the larger social development and education would be in each case to induce a larger and larger number of individuals to be raised into classes 1, 2, 3, 4 above the norm, and gradually to reduce individuals below the norm to the minimum. It must be understood, too, that the scale does not pass judgment on the general value or character of an individual but is *measuring him solely as an asset or a liability to one particular institution at the present time and in its present form.* It may be entirely possible that if too many individuals show negative scores it is a reflection upon the institution rather than upon the individual.

The Individual in Relation to the School

4. Superior contribution to knowledge and experience.
3. University graduate or professional training.
2. Normal school, junior college, or summer sessions.
1. Completion of high school.
0. *Completion of the 7th or 8th grade.*
1. Through 5th grade, or equivalent.
2. Through 3d grade, or equivalent.
3. The unlettered without opportunity for schooling.
4. The illiterate, as mentally deficient.

The Individual in Relation to the Church

4. Superior devotion to church and consecration to the social gospel.
3. Leadership and superior contribution, or constructive criticism.
2. Regular attendance, support or constructive service.
1. Membership, regular attendance.
0. *Membership, occasional attendance and support.*
1. Membership, non-attendance and non-support.
2. Non-membership, non-attendance.
3. Opposition to progressive church program.
4. Antichurch, atheistic activities.

The Individual in Relation to the State

4. Superior statesmanship and patriotism, intelligently enacted.
3. Leadership in local, state and national government.
2. Interested and participating in affairs of local and state government.
1. Law-abiding citizen actively interested in local government.
0. *Law-abiding citizen supporting the required government services.*

1. The careless citizen, non-coöperative in the services of government.
2. The antagonistic citizen exerting an unwholesome influence on citizenship.
3. The criminal and delinquent individual.
4. The anarchist and antigovernment individual.

The Individual in Relation to Family

4. Superior devotion and service to family welfare everywhere.
3. Superior affection and service for his own family.
2. Adding a large degree of social qualities in relation to the family.
1. Adding high standards of living and coöperation with the family.
0. *Healthy socially-minded person contributing or possessing potentialities for contribution to the success, happiness and support of the family.*
1. Providing the bare necessities without social interest.
2. Physically defective, limiting the growth and happiness of the family.
3. Physically and mentally defective, dependent on family for support.
4. Physically, mentally, and morally defective, destroying the home or propagating the unworthy.

The Individual in Relation to Industry

4. Superior contribution and leadership in industry.
3. Individual trained, with originality, qualities of invention and management.
2. Skilled worker with qualities of leadership and management.
1. Skilled worker with high standards and interested in work.
0. *Steady worker, making comfortable living adequate for the common standards of living.*
1. Steady worker with little interest and intelligence displayed in work.
2. Shiftless worker, constantly changing job.
3. The industrial parasite.
4. Industrial anarchist and derelict.

The Individual in Relation to the Community

4. Superior contribution to community through leadership and finance
3. Larger support of and participation in community programs.
2. Constructive support of and participation in community program.
1. Active interest in and support of community program.
0. *Resident with nominal interest in the community program.*
1. Resident with general indifference to community welfare.
2. Non-support and lack of coöperation in community life.
3. Partially dependent upon the community.
4. Wholly dependent and a burden to the community.

Questions to be Answered. The application of these tests to several thousand individuals in many different communities, raises some very interesting questions. In the matter of the school, for instance, more relevant standards than mere literacy or the possession of a college diploma should be devised. In the matter of the church the student will find some important questions to answer. Why is it, for instance, that groups with the higher education, the higher professional training, the higher social standing, in many instances tend to fall below the norm and exhibit negative qualities? Is this a challenge merely to the individuals or is it not also a greater challenge to the church? If the lowest class of society and the highest class measure below the norm, what are the problems involved? In the same way, many important questions are raised when we note the results of the measurements in relation to the family, to industry, and to the community. Manifestly, this tentative scale is not satisfactory and should be much revised. Manifestly, also, there is need for additional scales that will measure the individual in relation to all institutions.

Institutional Neglect of the Individual. An unpublished study made by the writer, of 2,000 individuals who were commonly adjudged to be failures reveals important facts concerning the inability of the institutions to guide the individual. Among the failures were the ordinary failures in business, the dependent member of society, the shiftless ne'er-do-wells, as well as various types of criminals, failures in health and moral life, failures in family relationships, the feeble-minded, suicides, and those who die prematurely. Of the 2,000 and more cases the home is charged with being the chief offender in 672, the school in 409, the church in 404, the state in 306, industry in 267, and the community in 478. Of course too much importance must not be assigned to these general verdicts. But it is of the utmost importance to recognize how a normal individual with good physical and social inheritance has failed to develop in many instances because of the failure of his institutional environment. The tragedies of most of these individuals may undoubtedly be laid at the door of the social environment, so that society should not complain of its individual handicaps until it has first understood the individual and has done its best in his behalf.

Types of Neglect. In these notable cases of failure, which can be duplicated the world over, the institutions have lagged in many respects. In the case of the individuals whose failures seem most clearly to be ascribed to the *home and family*, there was the following distribution of causes: the overindulgent parent and the pampered and spoiled child, the lack of education on the part of parents, the lack of home training, broken homes and domestic troubles, thriftlessness, poverty and ignorance, extravagance and laxity in discipline, drink and immorality, insanity and bad inheritance, child labor and low standards of living, and many other difficulties. In the case of the *school* there were the non-enforcement of attendance, the failure of the school to get hold of the pupil's interest, overformal instruction and lack of modern curricula, failure to teach health, sanitation and civic matters, lack of vocational guidance, failure to coöperate with the home, discrimination on account of social class, and other easily remedied limitations. In the case of the *church* some of the difficulties include doctrinal animosity, jealousies in service, non-progressive submissiveness, accentuation of social caste, extreme otherworldliness, hypocrisies, low standards of organization and equipment, inadequate leadership, ecclesiastical dogmatism, formalism. In the case of *industry* the handicaps were laid to overwork and underpay, to the destroying of ambition by machine processes, to poor health conditions, to poor business methods and dishonesty, to heavy labor turnover, to monopoly, and to misunderstanding between employer and employee. In the case of the *community* there was the general lack of interest on the part of the community in the individual, class misunderstandings, lack of community organization, lack of enforcement of laws, lack of social life, lack of recreation, poor health and sanitary conditions, and general lack of institutional coöperation. On the part of the *state and government* there was lack of justice in enforcement of laws, lack of discrimination between juvenile and older offenders, lack of juvenile guidance, mob control, insufficient coördination and legislation in public health and public welfare, favoritism in politics, lack of support of schools and community projects.

Psychological and Social Bases of Individual Qualities. Just as the social environment, which includes the social institutions, has its important bearing upon the development of the individual,

so his biological and social inheritance is highly important. Professor Giddings and others have pointed out how the intellect of the individual may be quickened by environment even though his intellectual ability is not changed. The health of an individual may be protected and promoted by environment. It is important to know, however, something of the fundamental inherent bases as well as the learned activities of the individual upon which society may work. Professor Allport lists six inherited activities which from the cradle to the grave constitute the basis upon which environmental influence may work. These are starting and withdrawing, rejecting, struggling, hunger reactions, sensitive zone reaction, and sex reactions. Each of these technical terms, of course, involves many practical and simple processes of human activities and human training. It is important, therefore, for society to recognize not only its obligation but the practical means by which it can serve the individual. As Allport says, "The shaping of the fundamental activities by social factors renders the individual as truly socialized as he would be with inborn reactions of the same sort." Thus it is important to recognize, along with all the fundamental inherited activities, the social factors in their development. Such matters as imitation, gregariousness, language and gesture, facial and bodily expression, social stimulation in the crowd, social attitudes and social consciousness,—all of these bring about important products in social behavior.

The Individual and Social Behavior. Thus the knowledge of the individual and his relationships will become a chief means of studying, and even of correcting, the abuses in the social institutions and of diagnosing various social and individual problems of maladjustment. The individual, therefore, cannot be separated from the group. Economic and industrial controls may relinquish their exploitation of the individual or prey upon individual suggestibility. In the family there may be important recognition of the moral independence of youth and woman and of other important aspects relating to the individual. Likewise government and religion may offer larger social service than mere police functions and force on the one hand and the pampering of weakness on the other. And of course the school may change its whole process and direction through the socialization of its curriculum. In his discussion of social behavior of the individual in relation to society, Professor Allport continues:

In all of these ways social behavior and the social inheritance can be brought into the service of more adequate adjustment. The individual, through such reforms, will be assisted in carrying on the advancing cycle of problem and solution, of need and fulfillment. He will be enabled, moreover, to carry it on in coöperation with his fellows, and through the needs and satisfaction of the social life itself. But this is not all. Social continuity teaches us that the social behavior and adjustments of one generation are, if successful, handed on to posterity as useful rules of living. We thus live on in the habit systems of succeeding generations in proportion to the value of our contribution to the social order. The stimulations which our behavior gives to others are perpetuated in a vital tradition for the guidance of the ages to come. Life is enriched not only through the scope of one's own adjustments, but through the influence of those adjustments re-embodied in the lives of others. Progress which is the achievement of the individual becomes the heritage of the ages.

The Newer Emphasis Upon Social Personality. The various phases of the individual's relation to society and society's institutional relation to the individual which have just been presented may be studied more effectively by an examination of the newer emphasis upon the social personality. We have quoted Professor Giddings as saying that the social personality represents the highest objective of society. Hence it is manifestly important for us to study more effectively and in more detail the qualities and backgrounds upon which such social personality may be built. We may, therefore, summarize two or three theories of personality which will interpret the current principles and methods of its study. Mr. Coffin in *Personality in the Making* has called personality "the biggest miracle and the biggest fact in the universe." At the outset he gives as the criterion of a comprehensive discussion of personality the answering of three fundamental questions:

1. What native capacities or functions must be present in order that personality shall be possible in a given individual; how do these grow or expand; and how are they unified into personality?
2. To how great an extent and in what manner is the growth of personality conditioned by social contacts, and what is required of society, therefore, on behalf of personality?
3. To what extent and in what manner is the individual himself responsible for his personal development?

To Coffin personality is a "teleological system" which travels the road of evolution "from its origin in the race and in the individual through its stages of development to its destiny." Approached from the points of view of biology, physiology, psychology, sociology, and ethics, personality as a "psycho-social organism" has three general aspects. The first or "the Historical Life" is viewed as an "inner historical flow of consciousness which binds past, present and future together into one living continuum." The second is "the Socializing Process" by which "personality will be shown to be an organic unit of society, and, consequently, to demand a social soil in which to grow." In the last or "Psycho-Social Development" personality is traced through the three modes of its development, education, vocation, and moralization.

Allport's View of Personality. To Allport the development of personality is a genetic process dependent upon social contact and social stimulation. Not only is it a result of social behavior but a cause as well. He says in his *Social Psychology*, "With the exception of a few traits, personality may be defined as the individual's characteristic reactions to social stimuli, and the quality of his adaptation to the social features of his environment." Personality according to Allport is built upon the individual's *native physical endowment* and acquired *habit systems*. In other words, personality has its basis in native equipment and develops by a process of adaptation to the social situation by the formation of habits. Allport has grouped the fundamental traits of personality in five categories: intelligence, motility, temperament, self-expression, and sociality.

1. *Intelligence.* Problem-solving ability; memory and learning ability; perceptual ability; constructive imagination; special abilities; soundness of judgment; general adaptability.

2. *Motility.* Hyperkinesis—hypokinesis; impulsion—inhibition (control); tenacity; skill; style.

3. *Temperament.* Emotional frequency and change; emotional breadth; emotional strength; characteristic mood; emotional attitude.

4. *Self-expression.* Drive; compensation; extroversion—introversion; insight; ascendance—submission; expansion—reclusion.

5. *Sociality.* Susceptibility to social stimulation; socialization—self-seeking (aggression); social participation; character.

Edman and Groves. Edman says in *Human Traits*, "A man's self, apart from his mere physical body, consists in his peculiar organization of instincts and habits. In common language this constitutes his personality or character." The individual in the formation of his habits is largely affected by praise and blame. He conforms by modification of habits and actions to social approval and disapproval, and since he comes in contact with a variety of different personalities and social situations, he may develop many distinct personalities. In time, however, there comes the predominating personality which is most characteristic of the individual and which constitutes his "permanent self." "The self that comes to be most characteristic and distinctive of a man, however, is determined by the group with which he comes most habitually in contact, or to whose approvals he has become most sensitive." Edman characterizes the following as types of personality or consciousness of self: self-display or boldness, self-sufficient modesty, the positive and flexible self, dogmatism and self-assertion, enthusiasm, the negative self, eccentricity, and finally the active and contemplative characters. Groves in *Personality and Social Adjustment* sees the individual as a product of basic impulses and social compulsion. These basic impulses or instincts are hunger, self-preservation and sex, which are stimulated, modified, and socialized through social control. Not only do the home and parents share in this socializing process but the school, the church, and the "gang." "The education or socializing of the impulses is not an arbitrary interference with the purposes of the individual, on the part of the group, but a necessity. Human instincts do not furnish preparation for life. They merely give the substance for character-building. Preparation for life is for the human being a social process and involves a transformation of instinctive tendencies. Conduct is lifted from the level of impulses to the level of social behavior."

Individual Differences in Personality. Although all men begin life with certain innate characteristics which are common to the race, personality as the sum-total of traits derived from social and environmental conditions which are superimposed upon inborn capacities, varies from individual to individual. And not only is there a difference in the environmental conditions operating in the life of the individual but there is a difference in native equip-

ment as well. There are those who are especially gifted with mechanical or engineering skill; others excel, in music, art, or literature; while still others are characterized by facility in the pursuance of classical or scientific studies. Moreover, there is not only this difference in special traits and abilities but in general intelligence. The recent emphasis on mental testing has arisen from a recognition of quantitative differences in the general intelligence of individuals. The social significance of these differences has been noted in this chapter but will have added meaning for our next chapter.

Pathology of Personality. In the process of the formation or integration of personality may come a conflict resulting in the development not of one distinct personality but of two or more separate ones. Under such conditions of dual or multiple personality consciousness of action and conduct existing when one of the personalities is dominant cannot be carried over into another personality. Although all people have slightly different personalities when in the presence of different individuals and groups, memory and consciousness of action is carried over from one situation to another. This constitutes the chief difference between the normal personality as adapted to varied situations and the so-called psychopathic dual personality. There may come other forms of the breakdown of personality arising from emotional or other life conflicts. Maladjustment to emotional situations and periods of stress may bring so-called functional disorders in many forms, which in general are classified as psychasthenias, neurasthenias, anxiety neuroses, and hysterias. These psychic disorders ranging all the way from the inferiority complex of comparatively common occurrence to the more extreme forms of paranoia, manic-depressive insanity and dementia præcox, have a social significance in that they present a conflict between personality and life conditions and an inability of the individual to cope with the social situation. There have been many attempts to find a single principle by which the genesis of these psychic disorders may be explained. Freud attributes all disorders to repression of the sex instinct and the relegation of the child's "libido" into the unconscious. Jung, though following Freud in general, uses the term *libido* to include all instinct energies and thus to a large extent repudiates Freud's theory of the "pan-

sexuality" of the child. Adler emphasizes the self-regarding tendencies of the individual and rejects to a large extent the sex theories of Freud. Hollingsworth finds as an explanatory principle the redintegration process or the reinstatement of the whole of an emotional situation upon the later occurrence of any one of its constituent parts. Thus has developed a new epoch in the fields of study and work of psychology, psychiatry, and social pathology.

FOR FURTHER STUDY

For Information

1. How does the present-day emphasis upon the individual differ from the individualism of former days?
2. How is the sociologist concerned with the individual as an avenue of approach to the study of the group?
3. Discuss the interrelation of the individual and the institutions.
4. Define personality.
5. What is meant by personal demoralization?

For Stimulating Thought

6. Although society is becoming more complex, although there are a greater number of individuals, and although groups are larger and more compact, there is an increasing emphasis upon the individual unit. Explain this tendency.
7. Does the emphasis upon the individual conflict with group ideals and group progress?
8. What have been some of the influences tending to bring increasing emphasis upon individual differences?
9. How has the present emphasis upon mental and educational tests been both a cause and an effect?
10. Can an individual be measured apart from his social environment? Illustrate. Refer to studies made of Caspar Hauser, the Hessian boy, the Irish boy, and others reared in comparative isolation.

For Research and Creative Writing

11. Plot the relation of a dozen individuals of your acquaintance to the institutions according to the measuring scale given in this chapter.

12. In cases where the individual fell below the norm, indicate ways in which he or the institution was at fault.
13. In relation to what institutions do the people in your community rate lowest? Attempt possible explanations.
14. Write a brief story of the life—hereditary, social, and cultural influences—surrounding the individual who rated highest on your measuring scale.
15. From a study of many individuals of your acquaintance attempt a critical appraisal of the major institutions.

For Practical Application

16. Give concrete examples of notable contributions of individuals to the welfare of society.
17. Allport says, "Progress which is the achievement of the individual becomes the heritage of the ages." Illustrate.
18. In your community what institutional programs are contributing most to the development of the individual?
19. Draw up a plan for each institution looking toward securing a better adjustment of all individuals.
20. State ways in which institutions could have prevented certain pitfalls into which unfortunates in your community have fallen.

For Continuity of Effort

21. List the local organizations which seek the better adjustment of the individual.
22. Make a list of various clinical services which are contributing to better social adjustment.
23. Show how various movements such as the woman movement or the youth movement are accentuating the emphasis on individuality.
24. Make a list of periodical discussions of the adjustment of personality or the development of the individual.
25 What modern movements, such as those on juvenile delinquency or the unadjusted girl or boy, have stressed the importance of studying the maladjusted in society?

For Effective Reading

26. For special study: Chapters V and VI of Allport's *Social Psychology*, Edman's *Human Traits*, Groves' *Person-*

ality and Social Adjustment, North's *Social Differentiation*, Terman's *Genetic Studies of Genius*, Freeman's *Mental Tests, their History, Principles, and Applications*, Part III, Bernard's *Social Psychology*.

27. For sampling or exhaustive reading: Adamson, Adler, A., Alexander, L. M., Allport, Blackmar, Brigham, Campbell, Coffin, Cooley, Edman, Goddard, H. H., Gordon, R. G., Groves, Jastrow, North, Pintner, Prince, Richardson, C. A., Roper, Teagarden, Terman, Thomson, G. H., Thomson, W. H., Tomkins, Trabue, Wentworth.

CHAPTER VI

LEADERSHIP AND SOCIETY

Leadership an Expansion of the Individual. If, as was pointed out in the previous chapter, "progress which is the achievement of the individual becomes the heritage of the ages," the highest developed individual or the leader in the social order must have a preponderant part in social guidance. Thus the study of leadership becomes a continuation study of the individual. In our introductory chapters the element of leadership was listed as one of a dozen fundamental social forces. There are so many aspects of the relation of the leader to society that it will be possible to study only a limited number in this chapter. It will be important to consider the problem of leadership as it relates to ordinary situations in the everyday life of man, as it relates to the development of group action and group consciousness, as it relates to the development of professional types of efficient leaders, as it relates to the development of leaders in the fields of science and scholarship, and as it relates to the whole field of politics, government and general social leadership. Manifestly, these and other objective measurements of leadership may be studied from a wide variety of source material in biography. Finally, the theoretical study of the *great man* versus the social environment or social forces in history will constitute a most important background for the further study of social problems and social progress and will introduce us to the next important general social force involved in social change and the physical environment.

The Dominant Personality in Common Life. In the history of communities and movements the dominant personality has usually constituted the greatest individual factor. This is true in influencing individuals as well as groups. If the personal judgment of several thousand college students be summarized it will be found that far more of them have been influenced by a single leader or person than by any institution except the home and family. Sometimes the influence of the dominant personality is

good and sometimes it is bad. Sometimes he is teacher, preacher, doctor, athlete, friend, chum. Sometimes he is statesman, sometimes demagogue. So important is the problem of leadership in the common community that men are accustomed to despair of effective work or to expect great things in proportion as there is poor or good leadership. For, just as it is the nature of some individuals to lead, so it seems to be natural for the great majority to follow. The possession of qualities of leadership, therefore, gives men enormous power and lays upon society a great obligation for the proper training and development of the individual. One of the most important studies that can be made is an exhaustive inquiry into the inheritance and personalities of community leaders. Here is a man who for twenty years has been leader in school, church, political, and banking circles; and he has kept the town split from end to end. He is the dominant, "righteous" sort of man. But is he a good leader? Here is a man who keeps his state constantly alive and tense by opposing every constructive act for social progress; who lives upon the propensity of men for following picturesque personalities and "anti"-agitations. Is he not a bad leader? Here is the "great man" theory, all too real and destructive. Our great leader becomes a shibboleth to hinder thinking and to breed intolerance. This is, therefore, a time when genuine consideration of the problems of leadership will be of special value. In this chapter a few of these considerations will be suggested.

A Changing Basis of Leadership. Much will be said later concerning the great-man theory of history as it has affected the past. Here it is important to note that society is perhaps gradually changing its conception of what constitutes leadership. And in its new ideals of leadership there may be hope for the elimination of the demagogue. There are many aspects of this transfer of emphasis, and many grounds, therefore, for crudeness and poverty in the transitional stages. Of course it has long since been recognized that leadership has been transferred from kings to people and that we no longer educate for royalty. But what has become of the leader with "authority," whether in government, in church, in industry or elsewhere in which the bigness of the leader is measured by the subjection of his followers? What has become of the dominant leadership of the church? Is there being transferred

from capital to labor much of the important leadership of the future? Has there been a transfer of leadership from country life and agricultural groups to city and industrial folk? Is the dominance of lawyer and politician being taken over by farmer and worker? Has the one-man superdomination epoch given way to the crowd, and if so how much mob and how much democracy? Has the family surrendered its leadership to other agencies? What will be the effect of woman's enlarging leadership? Is the leadership of youth encroaching upon that of maturity? Is Mr. Babbitt taking the place of the former man of professional distinction?

New Leaders for Old. Whatever changes there are, the leaders of the future will be at opposite poles from the old leaders of the political, military, or religious type. They will be leaders who represent movements and their leadership will draw its strength from the cause represented rather than from the overpowering individual. Alexander and Napoleon, indicted on many counts and sentenced to hard labor, would scarcely be respectable in the modern community. So would the great men of yesterday be shorn of their glory by the social codes of to-day. However perfected in type and technique the old leaders were, the world will know them no more. In their stead will be a diffused leadership, of whose potential resources still untapped, the world yet knows little. The task of developing this leadership is the task of the present. The verdict of the future may well agree with Joseph K. Hart that "a democracy cannot survive unless all the people, or the greater part of them, possess the quality of potential leadership and the actual leaders possess a deep sense of social responsibility and quality of potential loyalty to other leaders." Many of our deficiencies in present-day leadership are due to the failure so far to make quick adjustments to social change and to the shortness of time for the evolution of new types.

Qualities of the Leader and the Mass. In a previous chapter the qualities of the educated man as pointed out by President Eliot were cited as a measure of the good life. But the educated man is not always a leader. What, then, are some of the qualifications of various types of leaders in modern society? To what extent is the working out of social relationships through scientific effort and educational direction dependent upon society's equipment of enough leaders of the right sort in the various fields?

Since in this volume the importance of science, and especially social science, has been emphasized, we may begin our study of the qualities of leadership by contrasting some of the qualities of the scientific mind with those of the popular mind. The contrast between these two will be essentially the difference between leader and follower in the scientific field. The classification given below is based upon Wolfe's *Conservatism, Radicalism, and Scientific Method.*

The Scientific Mind	The Popular Mind
1. Objective Impersonal Desire subordinated to intellect and reason	1. Subjective Personal Intellect and reason subordinated to desire
2. Observant Sensitive Curiosity impersonal and disciplined Attention alert and pointed	2. Unobservant Insensitive Curiosity personal and lacking Attention diffuse and uncertain
3. Significantly informed	3. Insignificantly informed or ignorant
4. Objectively skeptical (factual skepticism)	4. Credulous, or subjectively skeptical
5. Critical (a) of premises (b) of logical processes	5. Uncritical or critical only of logical processes
6. Tolerant	6. Intolerant
7. Intellectually patient (can suspend judgment)	7. Intellectually impatient (jumps at conclusions)
8. Constructively imaginative	8. Fanciful or unimaginative
9. Fearless in facing facts	9. Fearful of disagreeable facts
10. Courageous in defending its scientific convictions	10. Lacking in the courage of its convictions, unless motivated by special interest, or backed by authority
11. Unimpressionable by authority or prestige	11. Reverential to authority, impressed by prestige
12. Intellectually unconventional	12. Intellectually conventional
13. Unegotistic	13. Egotistic
14. Deterministic, behavioristic, not given to praising and blaming	14. Libertarian, given to praising and blaming
15. Faith in law	15. Faith in whim

Leaders in Social Science. The above comparison between the scientific man and the common man might very well be applied to leaders in the whole realm of social study and social science. It would be well if the common man were to hold the leaders of social science in greater respect than he has done in the past. While the physical scientist and the social scientist may not combine the qualities needed for general social and political leadership we must recognize and esteem the qualities of such men. Discussing "individuality in research," Mr. Carmichael says: "Openness and plasticity of mind, even to age, is a general characteristic of men of genius. A desire for truth is their fundamental possession and they are not deterred from its pursuit by petty inconsistencies. Socrates was delighted when confuting others; and, if found in error, was no less pleased when confuted. In his mind no evil was so great as false judgment concerning the just and the unjust." President Glenn Frank, in his *The Outlook for Western Civilization*, interprets the ideal of the creative leader in an effective way: "The creative scholar has an insatiable appetite for facts and an insistent reluctance to draw conclusions. To this modesty of scholarship the world owes a debt it can never discharge. I realize the importance of suspended judgment in the work of the scholar, but it seems to me that we must also face the fact that a civilization will starve on a diet of suspended judgment alone. The scholar can never turn dogmatist. He must ever hold his conclusions open to revision in the light of further research. This does not, however, do away with the fact that, unless civilization is to play into the hands of selfish interests and social inertia, society must evolve some technic for using the results of scholarly research in the determination of its basic policies." President Eliot has well said that "the pioneers of science like the pioneers in exploration and colonization must find their way through pathless regions. It is only later generations that build smooth roads and railways for the transportation of inattentive multitudes where the pioneer trod alone and watchful." Mr. Pearson points out a neglected factor: "Training, intellectual power, physical fitness, application and integrity are requirements which need no explanation. Stability is a trait which is often given too little weight. Some of the ablest men are affected with a restlessness which impairs their usefulness. We need investigators who will devote a lifetime,

if necessary, to a single problem instead of pursuing the latest scientific fad."

The Political Leader. The leader in science, however, is ordinarily not so dominant and influential as other types. Of these types the political leader is perhaps the most common and powerful at the present time. Professor Charles E. Merriam has been studying for a number of years the problem of leadership in American politics with a view to discovering ways of developing more intelligent and better trained leaders for the future. A second purpose of his study is to enable people at large to discriminate in the choosing of leadership. Professor Merriam has studied many American leaders in respect to their general background, their physical and intellectual capacities, their sensitiveness to prevailing tendencies, their quickness of perception and action, their facility in group combination, their ease of personal contact, their ability to dramatize, and their courage. In his book, *Four American Party Leaders*, he has made application of this method to Lincoln, Roosevelt, Wilson, and Bryan. The student will do well in studying the whole problem of leadership to read stories of these four great political leaders, just as in his study of the scientific leader he will do well to read many of the sketches in *American Masters of Social Science*, listed at the end of this chapter.

Military Leaders. The student may, of course, make further studies of the qualities of leadership in various modern biographies. He will find the lives of modern Americans like Edward Bok or Henry Ford or Thomas R. Marshall or Herbert Quick full of distinctive qualities. Or he might find great profit in the study of ancient leaders as depicted in Plutarch's *Lives*. Or he might select at random such great military and political leaders as Julius Cæsar, Peter the Great, Frederick the Great, Napoleon I, Bismarck, Cavour, Disraeli. In these leaders he would find ample evidence of the qualities which are demanded by those who follow. Besides the dominant personality he would find versatility, diversity of interests, fierce energy, the indomitable will, the unquenchable ambition, keen foresight, smooth diplomacy, a taste for duplicity, the power of organization, the ability to inspire confidence and devotion. Or the student might study other qualities of leadership as set forth in the doctrine of expediency preached by Machiavelli in *The Prince*. Over against these types and

qualities of leadership the student will be constantly contrasting the requirements of the modern leader.

Ancient Leaders of Men. The study of ancient leaders as found in Plutarch's *Lives* will not only make familiar the old types of leaders but will help the student further to contrast vividly the qualifications of the new leaders as opposed to those of the old. What were the qualities which distinguished Themistocles, Coriolanus, Alcibiades, Pericles, Mark Antony, Cæsar, Demosthenes, Cicero, Aristides? While there were manifest in these leaders the usual qualities of physical and biological fitness, intellectual alertness, industry, persistence, ambition, fortitude, courage, were they not different in many respects from the modern leader? Were they not more impetuous, vehement, intolerant, lavish, cruel, selfish, self-willed, inhuman, ignorant, unscrupulous, treacherous, insolent? Were they more susceptible to flattery, more ruthless in the attainment of personal ends, more pompous, more given to pleasure seeking, more "wordy"? Were their qualities of simplicity, happiness of disposition, friendliness, sociability, patriotism, poise, sympathy, kindness, good humor, merely secondary traits serving as means to the satisfying of indomitable will? Or is the student to conclude that their qualities were not only the products of the age but necessary reflections of what the people expected of their leaders? In this case we might study these leaders again under the several categories of their ideals of justice, courage, pride, enthusiasm, sublety, stoicism, austerity, learning, honor, morality, and find the same consistency of strong personality and equipment, but manifested in a different environment. Thus we come back again to the influence of the leader upon social custom and morality and the influence of social conditions upon the leader. Types of leadership must vary with changing social conditions.

The Educational Leader. The teacher and the educator will represent one of these different types of leadership. Perhaps the teacher has exerted a greater influence than has been commonly credited to him in general historical appraisal. The student may study the qualities of leadership in educators by various methods. He may go back to the study of Socrates and other master teachers of antiquity, or he may take the history of modern education and read there the inspiring romance woven out of the work and per-

sonalities of the greatest educators. A Froebel, a Herbart, a Pestalozzi, a Locke, a Horace Mann—all reveal important qualities of leadership. One would find in a Herbart, for instance, an emphasis upon the inner freedom, the strong character, the efficiency of the will, discipline, broad-mindedness, the appreciation of beauty, the power of thought, and the general importance of culture. He says, for example, "most of all, we shall need to have all the power of learning applied to the elevation of man." In Pestalozzi one would find emphasized the qualities of duty and diligence, the strong character, religion and morality, faith in humanity, feeling and imagination, earnestness of purpose, hard work, self-sacrifice, love of truth, and other qualities of health, morality, character. Said Pestalozzi, "If I had to live on bread and water for years and to work in the humblest cottage, I would laugh at any danger and would be certain of ultimate success even in my greatest need." John Locke, too, stressed the criteria of religion, tolerance, morals, love of truth, trained intelligence, knowledge, virtue, wisdom, experience, reflection. From thinking, doubting, believing, knowing, willing we receive, according to Locke, ideas as distinct as those that come to us through our senses. Horace Mann felt that "faith is the only sustainer I have—faith in the improvability of the race." He considered love to be "the universal solvent." Mann shunned partisanship in politics and sectarianism in religion and commended "the fundamental truths of civil and social obligation." He opposed war vigorously and arraigned textbooks of military emphasis. To the youth who is asking for a goal of leadership he would say, "Be ashamed to die until you have won some victory for humanity."

A Teacher's Code. An excellent code of group leadership is that drawn up by the National League of Teachers' Associations, adopted in July, 1922, and quoted from Edgar L. Heermance's *Handbook:*

> We believe that one who aspires to be a leader of youth should have first of all, character—that subtle and indefinable quality which is finer than the finest deeds, greater than the greatest facts, which includes, but transcends honor—a nice sense of what is right, just, and true, with a course of life corresponding thereto:
>
> *Vision*—A supreme faith in the ultimate triumph of the ideal good.
>
> *Patience*—Which means the ability and the willingness to wait, and

may also mean kindliness to evildoers, and bearing with the weaknesses of others.

Justice—Recognizing in our fellow man another self—seeing both sides of every question.

Benevolence—That which helps another to help himself—not indulgence; that energy and enthusiasm which can be satisfied only by seeing ambition realized.

Service—"The power to give the world more than I take."

And with these a broad education, both liberal and professional, as a preparation for one's life work, so that he do it conscientiously and with pleasure because he can do it well.

"And it came to pass that after a while the artist was forgotten—but the work lived."

Requirements for Legal Leadership. In the field of law as in science, politics, and education definite canons of leadership have been published. The summary of judicial ethics shows, for instance, that the people expect of their leaders conduct above reproach. The American Bar Association has adopted a canon of leadership in countries where government rests upon the approval of the people which includes thirty-two items. A committee on judicial ethics submitted another code which should apply to judges and this code contains thirty-four provisions. It gives the following summary of judicial obligations. Of the judge it says, "In every particular his conduct should be above reproach. He should be conscientious, studious, thorough, courteous, patient, punctual, just, impartial, fearless of public clamor, regardless of public praise, and indifferent to private, political or partisan influences; he should administer justice according to law, and deal with his appointments as a public trust; he should not allow other affairs or his private interests to interfere with the prompt and proper performance of his judicial duties, nor should he administer the office for the purpose of advancing his personal ambition or increasing his popularity."

The Physician. The classic example of the requirements of the leader in medicine is the well known oath of Hippocrates. This oath appears remarkably timely in many respects. The American Medical Association has adopted important principles of medical ethics relating to responsibility, patients, delicacy, secrecy, general duties of the profession, relation to the public,

and relation to each other. Of special importance in this connection are the duties of the physician to the public and the standards set for holders of fellowships. Physicians as citizens should "give advice concerning the public health of the community. They should bear their full part of enforcing its laws and sustaining the institutions that advance the interests of humanity. They should coöperate especially with the proper authorities in the administration of the sanitary laws and regulations. They should be ready to counsel the public on subjects relating to sanitary police, public hygiene and legal medicine." The fellowship pledge of the American College of Surgeons sets a high standard when it requires the following:

I pledge myself to pursue the practice of surgery with thorough self-restraint and to place the welfare of my patients above all else; to advance constantly in knowledge by the study of surgical literature, the instruction of eminent teachers, interchange of opinion among associates, the attendance on the important societies and clinics; to regard scrupulously the interests of my professional brothers and seek their counsel when in doubt of my own judgment; to render willing help to my colleagues and to give freely my services to the needy. Moreover, I pledge myself, so far as I am able, to avoid the sins of selfishness; to shun unwarranted publicity, dishonest money-making, and commercialism as disgraceful to our profession; to refuse utterly all money trades with consultants, practitioners or others; to teach the patient his financial duty to the physician and to expect the practitioner to obtain his compensation directly from the patient; to make my fees commensurate with the service rendered and with the patient's rights; and to avoid discrediting my associates by taking unwarranted compensation.

Emphasizing the Equipment of the Leader. Many other examples of codes for measuring and promoting definite qualities of leadership in the several fields of human activities might be given. The artists have declared their working principles and have set forth standards of practice. The American Institute of Architects has adopted standards of professional practice for its members. The American Society of Newspaper Editors has adopted canons of journalism, setting forth standards with reference to responsibility, freedom of the press, independence, truthfulness and accuracy, impartiality, fair play, and decency. Likewise principles of business conduct have been elaborated in various ways. Enough

examples have been cited to show the recognized importance of measuring leadership in such definite ways as to require the leader in modern society to give evidence of his right to lead in terms of capacity and equipment. Much evidence indicates that in America there has recently been too great a tendency to follow the unwise leader in politics, in religion, in business. There is, therefore, no more important task than that of establishing in the minds of the coming generation the essentials of leadership.

Dangers in Mechanical Standards. There is need, however, for much caution in this study of leadership and the good life as measured by purely mechanical yardsticks. Such methods are, of course, valuable in giving clear-cut analyses of qualities and in contributing to means and methods of social education and direction. The student must keep in mind constantly, however, the dangers that come from standardization of efforts and qualities which may relate to the social personality in any of its forms and manifestations. The tendency of institutions to make all mankind in one mold has been elsewhere emphasized as one of the dangers of a quantity-production age. The tendency to have all men think alike and act alike is inimical to the development of the strongest personalities. The tendency of the crowd to conform mechanically to custom blocks all progress. In the consideration, therefore, of the objective measurements of personality and leadership and of the needs of leadership and democracy the student must constantly avoid the dangers involved in solely objective standards.

Democracy and Leadership. It has been said again and again that democracy must depend for its efficacy upon good leadership. Representative democratic government which shall direct the development of the people and render justice must be coextensive with good leadership. Woodrow Wilson used to say that the purpose of democracy was to take counsel for the common man, and this phase of democracy must not be lost sight of. Leaders in the many arenas of human activity may justly be expected to conform to high standards no less in their respective fields than in the wider opportunities of social and political guidance. There is encouragement in the general tendency to demand that public servants be trained and to expect layman and expert to work hand in hand. Many students of the present era fear that the rapid

growth of democracy in an industrialized civilization will turn the population into mass types and will minimize individuality and true leadership. President Glenn Frank of the University of Wisconsin has set forth a summary of these fears in an admirable way in *The Outlook for Western Civilization.* He raises the question whether or not America, for instance, is ready for a new sort of leader or messiah, who can combine strong personality with scientific humanism such as will lead men into clearer understanding and more purposeful paths.

The Picturesque Leader and "Bad Man." A curious aspect of the current interest in the writing and reading of biographies and the consequent attention to outstanding personalities and leaders is the newer emphasis upon the "bad man" in literature and life. It is interesting to note, for instance, that certain heroic types of frontiersmen and criminals have revealed many of the character qualities of great men in other fields. Billy the Kid and Jesse James, whose biographies have constituted best sellers, have certainly been portrayed as possessing ample courage, perseverance, poise, optimism, energy, alertness, dominant personality, honesty, standards of honor. They have been religious, sympathetic, gentle, courteous, along with their cleverness, cruelty, revengefulness, ruthlessness. They have shown initiative and keen intelligence. Are these, then, great leaders? Are the other characters in the rogues' bookshelf or the annals of great criminals, possessing these qualities of personality and equipment, therefore great leaders? If so, leaders of what? Jack Dempsey and Gene Tunney possess certain qualities which attract thousands not only to their combats but to their speech and counsel. Are they, then, great leaders; and if so, leaders of whom? President Eliot of Harvard has been cited in many eulogies as America's foremost citizen. He is, therefore, a great leader; a leader of whom? His death, noted briefly by the great metropolitan newspapers, was to most people but a minor incident as compared with that of Rudolph Valentino. Was not, therefore, Valentino also a great leader? Or again, was not the heroic Charles A. Lindbergh a leader of a new sort? These and other examples are mentioned again to emphasize the very important problem involved in the development of the new leadership and in the adjustment of a democracy to its higher ideals.

The Great Man Versus Social Forces. Professor Ogburn, in his article on "The Great Man Versus Social Forces," in *Social Forces* for December, 1926, calls attention to an old supposition which has attempted to settle the question as to the relative influence of the individual and social environment on the life of society. It has commonly been called the great man theory of history; and its acceptance has been so general that not only has written history been centered about great men, but some outstanding individual has been acclaimed as the most important factor in each high peak of human achievement. Professor Ogburn calls attention to the confusion between greatness as inherited through biological processes and greatness in personality developed through social incidence. He concludes that the potentialities of greatness are common and constant. This conclusion is in accord with our other chapters in which we urged a more comprehensive study of social incidence and social organization.

The Great Man and Cultural Situations. Professor Ogburn estimates that the great achievements of these personalities have depended upon two cultural situations. The first is a favorable cultural environment in which achievements may be performed. The second situation is that of social valuations of the group. He continues: "These different social conditions that affect the production of greatness include the social forces, which usually mean the dynamic element arising from the impulses of a plural number of human beings, impulses organized into particular habit mechanisms in different cultural media. Social valuations represent probably very well these social forces, for men do what the group values. These group valuations are quite integrally related to and dependent upon the accumulation of cultural elements at any one time; for instance the status of the industrial arts has much to do with determining the social valuation of commercial enterprise. The social conditions are therefore very closely related to the social forces."

The Great Man and the Future. In previous chapters we have called attention to the lessening influence of physical environment, race, and other factors in the modern world due to social change. The comprehensive organization of society with its elimination of distances and time and its coördination of activities reduces the exclusive influence of single factors. Without lessening the im-

portance of society's developing leadership, the same tendency will probably be true with reference to the great man of the future. Professor Ogburn's conclusion states the problem:

"The rôle of the exceptional individual in the social process and the relative dependence of social change and achievement on social forces or the great man will no doubt be a subject of debate for some time to come. But these results of recent researches do seem to clarify the analysis. Our conclusions are that greatness must be conceived in terms of inherited qualities and environmental traits. The distribution of inherited qualities appears to be such that the inherited abilities of greatness should be plentiful and constant, facts which minimize the importance of the great man, biologically conceived. On the social forces side, there are two important factors that affect great achievement, the existing cultural materials and the social valuations. These two factors vary greatly over time and by places, and hence may be called causes of great achievement. They are of the nature of social forces. Great men are thus the product of their times. They in turn influence their times, that is, their achievement influences the times. The great man is thus a medium in social change. The phenomenon of the great man varies in the different kinds of social activities, and each situation should be separately analyzed as to the relative strength of the different factors. In some cases psychological traits of personality are more important than others. These factors at the present time are only with great difficulty susceptible of precise measurement. But certain extended observations indicate that the production of great men and their influence are strongly conditioned and determined by the particular existing stage of the historical development. The great man and his work appear therefore as only a step in a process, largely dependent upon other factors."

FOR FURTHER STUDY

For Information

1. How is society changing its conception of leadership?
2. Contrast outstanding qualities of the ancient and modern leader.
3. What two factors contribute to leadership according to Professor Ogburn's analysis of "The Great Man Versus Social Forces"?
4. What is the great man theory of history?
5. What is the significance to leadership of professional codes and standards?

For Stimulating Thought

6. Why will a newspaper or popular periodical welcome a sensational story about a moving picture star more than an account of the contribution of an educator or scientist to social well-being?
7. How do you explain the large influence of the Ku Klux Klan from 1920 to 1925?
8. Do the best men lead? Why?
9. The "bad man" type of leader possesses many of the qualities of the military, political or scientific leader. Why the difference in their respective contributions to society?
10. Why did the whole of mankind celebrate Lindbergh's conquest of the air with such abandon?

For Research and Creative Writing

11. Plot a county or a state map showing residence of leaders.
12. Write an imaginary story of Alexander the Great in a modern American community.
13. Write the story of one "good" leader.
14. Write the story of one leader whose influence has been "bad."
15. Study the biographies of several eminent leaders. How many have been greatly influenced by other dominant personalities?

For Practical Application

16. Does the business man esteem the college professor as much as formerly?
17. Study the leaders of the various institutions in a given community. Is there a difference between church and business leaders?
18. Make suggestions as to how the educator or scientist can become more effective in guiding the masses.
19. Does the minister hold as prominent a place in the community as in earlier American life?
20. Discuss the influence of the movies upon the development of modern leadership among youth.

For Continuity of Effort

21. What are the merits of the Woodrow Wilson prizes of $50,000?

22. Analyze the social institutions in a given community with reference to their development of leadership.
23. Show how the burden of social development often falls upon a few individuals.
24. Discuss the influence of literature and biography upon leadership.
25. What ratio of individuals in *Who's Who* remain in the states in which they were born?

For Effective Reading

26. For special study: A good biography such as a life of Booker Washington, Woodrow Wilson, Abraham Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt, G. Stanley Hall, William Graham Sumner; Dekruif's *Microbe Hunters*, Odum and others' *American Masters of Social Science*, Barton's *The Man Nobody Knows*, Merriam's *Four American Political Leaders*, Chapter XXXIV, Bernard's *Social Psychology*.
27. For sampling or exhaustive reading: Guedalla, Leighton, Lumley, McClure, Merriam, Munro, W. B., Robinson, W. L., Ross, A. E., Russell, Bertrand, Taeusch, Wallace, Wallas, Ward, Wilson, M. H., Wilson, Woodrow.

CHAPTER VII

SOCIAL CHANGE AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Social Change a Force. If, as has been pointed out in the previous chapter, social change has been responsible for much of the character of the modern leader and society's demands upon him, it has been even more responsible for the altered nature and increasing number of social problems with which modern society is faced. Indeed, if one reviews the general categories of social problems already listed in the previous chapters, it must be clear that most of them or their present manifestations are due to or accentuated by the process of social change. Thus the fact of social change becomes one of the fundamental social forces which must be considered as a background for the study of social problems. We may look at the subject from several viewpoints. In our discussion here this chapter will consider briefly the general nature and universality of change, some of the primary causes of social change, some of the ways in which the present situation is due to social change, some of its evolutionary aspects, and finally, the whole phenomenon as a social process and social force with its consequent bearing upon social progress and direction.

Change an Organic Process. The idea of the old Greek philosophers that all matter and form were in a constant state of change represented profound wisdom. Said Heraclitus in substance, "Nothing is. Everything is becoming." To test this statement one needs but look at nature all around us—the flowing stream, the growing crops, the rotting wood, the moving worlds. Or we may turn back to the previous chapter on the good life in which we have shown how growth or development or process constitutes the truest *summum bonum*. The idea of change, too, is involved in the whole concept of social progress, as will be pointed out later. It is involved in the common proverbs and wisdom which constantly remind us that we cannot stand still—we must move forward or

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go back. One can but wish that the Greek emphasis upon change as a social force might have been followed up and studied more throughout the later centuries.

The Process of Change and Social Value. The principle involved in the organic process of change is not only fundamental in the individual and his growth and in all organic nature, but it is likewise fundamental in the social process and in the measurement of social values. There are evidences to indicate that society will come to value more and more process, action, movement, rather than mere ends and products. In a machine age where things move so rapidly men work with their hands and with machines. It is not the product of their handiwork, however, which is important so much as how they work and how also they may keep busy in leisure hours and in the educational and cultural processes. In later chapters it will be pointed out how this problem of leisure time growth in a world of varied and constant change constitutes a highly important task. The exhilaration of achievement, of movement, of doing things must, therefore, transcend such fixed and finished products as wealth, position, institutional form. Thus Tennyson's challenge "to seek, to strive, to find and not to yield" is truth as well as poetry.

The Romance of Social Change. Instead, therefore, of becoming alarmed at the processes of social change or of fearing dire results, the student should glory in the opportunity to live and work in an age of rapid change. Richer in experience than Ulysses, he should not only proclaim himself a part of all that he has met, but he should see that he is competent to utilize and to influence changing processes himself. The modern era is one of dramatic intensity. It is an era of the romance of science, of invention. The world now enjoys as matter of fact experiences and luxuries that a few years ago were termed impossible. Satire and ridicule directed toward the prophetic aspirations of dreamers now return boomerang-like in multiplied force to the original skeptics. It would be difficult to estimate in which field of the modern material world greatest change has come about. In the field of invention and discovery the unbelievable is happening every day. In the field of science acquisition of new knowledge, however large and far-reaching, is apparently but begun. Changes in methods of work and play are such as to render a community scarcely recognizable from

decade to decade. The atmosphere is tense with activity, and the common inquiry of youth is "what next?"

A Half Century of Rapid Change. What have been some of the effects upon society of this last half century in which the world has made more material progress than in all the previous millenniums of history? What are the results of great increases in wealth? What are the results of new modes of living and new standards of comfort and culture? Are "comfort" and "culture" synonymous? What are the results of the rapid shrinking of distance in the distribution of goods, in communication and in social contacts? What will be the results of closer international relationships? What are some of the relations of custom and style to social conduct and social values? What are the limits of future invention and its effect upon economic and social life? Will invention be the chief factor in social progress? Is society capable of utilizing well its vast new stores of knowledge? Not only are the results of these processes to be studied, but first of all we must ask what are their chief causes? Will society be able to meet this constant change with adequate adjustment and without too violent wrenching of its social relationships?

Beach on Causes of Social Change. One of the special reference volumes for study in this book is *An Introduction to Sociology*, by Walter Greenwood Beach. In discussing changes Professor Beach points out that it is necessary to distinguish between the unconscious and unplanned changes and those which may come about from the definite aims of society. We shall discuss in later chapters the changes brought about by forces in nature and by social incidence. Professor Beach summarizes the general causes of change as follows: "They are changes in physical environment, changes in the population basis of society, and (of much the greatest significance) changes which result from mental contacts and origination. Or, to state the problem differently: those changes are of greatest social consequence which alter either (1) the size or distribution of population; or (2) the distribution of wealth; or (3) which make new contacts among men; or (4) which add to the sum of knowledge. Such changes carry within them the possibility of new or redirected desires and thus new social ideals, and in the end a modified social heritage or social order."

Parsons' Three Historical Events as Causes. Professor Beach also calls attention to the different eras of social change, of which the modern is of course the most notable. He points to the conflict between western science and eastern mysticism, and reviews the several historical epochs. Professor Parsons, in his *Introduction to Modern Social Problems*, finds three causes of rapid social change that are to be linked with three great historical periods. The first is new knowledge about man and the world. Of especial importance were the ideas of the rotundity of the earth, the planetary system, the law of gravitation, and the theories of evolution. The second is the discovery of new worlds. The extension of western civilization was made possible by the exploration of the American continents, Australia, and the sea routes to South Africa and the far east. Thus was begun, too, the great migratory movements with the subsequent political, religious, and economic developments. The third is the industrial revolution, which hastened the gradual evolution of the three preceding centuries by the inventions of machinery and the application of artificial power to machine production. He points out how the process of change inaugurated in these three historic eras has continued and will continue until the old world order has been transcended entirely by the new. It must be clear, therefore, that in these epochs of change there must be constant conflict between the new and the old and that with each new change, custom, or form there must come need for social adjustment. It must also be clear that there can be no sound static society; nor can there be social progress without continual multiplication of social problems.

Ogburn's Social Lag. One of the most important contributions to the discussion of modern social change has been Professor Ogburn's lucid explanation of how the social institutions in their form and process tend to lag behind material change. This he calls cultural lag. Again, the rapid urbanization and industrialization of society bring about different obligations upon the members of the family and different requirements in home making. Nevertheless, the home and family tend to make necessary adjustments more slowly than the demands of city and industry require. The demands of a modern complex civilization complicate the social obligations of the individual in matters of wealth and justice, and of individual conduct. The lag on the part of the

older order in making the needed adjustments therefore results in processes of conflict and strife which constitute major social problems. In the same general way, improvements in material and mechanical things tend to outrun the development of intellectual, social, and moral attitudes and customs. Further consideration of this problem will be made in later paragraphs, and an extended study may be found in Professor Ogburn's volume on *Social Change*.

The Fear of the New. We have pointed out in previous chapters the tendency of mankind to be afraid of the truth. Examples of the fear of truth have already been cited. Similar to this tendency, and in many ways coincident with it, is the almost universal fear of change. "Old things are good, new things are bad" represents the common feeling. "The old days were the good days" represents the sentiment of each generation. Like the spies of Moses, the common man sees giants and all manner of exaggerated problems ahead of him in the promised land. Social change must bring social adjustment and therefore social effort. It is easier to leave things as they are. It is much easier to rationalize and say that since the world was created as it is it should be allowed to remain so. This is in spite of the fact that the whole organic process of the creation of the world is one of constant evolution and change. The institutional lag mentioned above will be found to be one of the chief causes of fear of progress. It is important, therefore, for the student to examine briefly some of the problems which modern social change has brought about in the several institutions.

Social Change and the Family. Only a few of the typical problems of the modern family as accentuated by social and economic change need to be cited to illustrate the situation. One very important problem has to do with the size of families, the smaller family in the modern era being adjudged superior to the larger family of former days. According to the United States Census reports the average size of families has decreased from 5.6 in 1850 to 4.3 in 1920, a decrease of more than one person per family. This problem involves the whole question of population, of health, of vitality, and is accentuated through the widening scope of knowledge and the rise in living standards. The phrase "woman's place in the home" because of industry and the newer

recognition of woman's rights now has a very different meaning from what it had in past generations. Compare the present emphasis and the conception of woman's place in home and society with that of Dr. Fuller writing in the seventeenth century and quoted by Karl de Schweinitz in *The Family* for June, 1926. "Knowing she is the weaker vessel, (the good husband) bears with her infirmities. And grant her to be of a servile nature, such as may be bettered by beating; yet he remembers he hath enfranchised her by marrying her." And even in the nineteenth century William A. Alcott wrote as late as 1837, "I may also add, that the more cheerful and voluntary the submission (of the wife), the happier the results." Not only industry but good roads, new forms of entertainment and community activities make the problem of family life for the children an involved one. The moving pictures, automobile riding, playgrounds, athletic interests, Boy Scouts, girls' clubs, and school programs and entertainments all increase the complexity of the life of the boy or girl to-day. Various new problems of home economics and hygiene, of discipline, and of standards of living arise because of the factors involved in social change.

New Schools for Old. In a later chapter the problems involved in the social curriculum will be discussed at length. It is sufficient to point out here how the modern school curriculum and school administration must constantly change to keep pace with the demands of economic and social life. A list of the new courses in the curriculum of the modern school and college will itself constitute a sort of catalogue of modern demands upon the school. Vocational instruction and guidance, instruction in civics and health, the various means of relating the school to the community, represent courses and activities intended to make the school function in every phase of social life. In college and university professional courses in commerce, in engineering, in social work, in dramatics, in public hygiene are evidences of the efforts of higher education to meet the needs of changing civilization. Along with this demand upon the school for a curriculum which will bring about better adjustment between the school and community comes an extension of the scope of the school to include greater and greater numbers of people. According to the United States Census, illiteracy in the United States has decreased from 10.7 per cent of

the population ten years of age and over in 1900, and from 20 per cent in 1870 to 6 per cent in 1920. Furthermore, there has been a constantly increasing demand for education of collegiate grade. Each year there are more young people who throng the colleges of the country. Statistics gathered by Mr. Walters of Swarthmore College and published in *School and Society* for January 8, 1927, reveal that in the past year there has been an increase of 11 per cent in attendance at 178 institutions on the approved list of the Association of American Universities. When the total number of students in enrollment at the ten largest colleges as given by Mr. Walters is compared with the total students in enrollment at the same institutions in 1900 as found in the report of the United States Bureau of Education, the amazing fact is revealed that in these ten colleges there has been an increase of a little over 265 per cent in the average enrollment in the past twenty-seven years. With such a mass of the population now in schools and colleges there is an increasing need for a greater emphasis in the schools upon the study of human problems. The whole movement for mental and social tests and for special study and instruction based on individual needs is a part of the newer ideal to help the individual adjust himself.

In the Religious World. In no field of human endeavor has modern change wrought greater conflict than in the religious world. Science has given to the world great bodies of information which have swept away much of the supernatural which primitive man saw in the world about him. Nevertheless, there have eddied around this body of scientific knowledge great currents of conflict between science and religion. In recent years in America this has been the most stubbornly fought of all conflicts of ideals. Hundreds and hundreds of volumes and articles discussing the warfare between science and religion and the relative merits of each have been poured out, as it were, upon the world. Creeds and organizations have multiplied and there has grown up dissension between western Christianity and the oriental religions. The withdrawal of scientific and educational instruction from their former connection with religion has brought about great change. Professor Parsons summarizes the effect of the breakdown of traditional religious ideas under three heads. There is first the need for readjustment in society. There is second the problem of readjust-

ment in religious institutions. And, finally, there is the very important problem of readjustment in personal conduct to meet the larger spiritual needs which are now so manifest everywhere.

Social-Industrial Relationships. It is generally conceded that the industrial revolution of the last century has come nearer transforming the whole of society than any other single movement. The change from handwork to machine work, the multiplication of industries, the distribution of labor, the immense increase in commodities and needs have all served to usher in a revolution of general social custom as well as of industrial methods. Professor Mecklin, in *An Introduction to Social Ethics*, very forcibly pictures the rôle of the machine in our daily life. "The average American lives in a house constructed of machine-made bricks, cement, lumber, nails, glass and furniture; he takes his morning bath in a machine-made tub, the water for which is provided and heated by machinery; after having arrayed himself in machine-made clothing, he reads his machine-made newspaper, and he sits down to a breakfast of edibles gathered from the four corners of the world and scientifically prepared as a result of the application of the machine to transportation, agriculture, cold storage and cooking; he finds his way to the city, ascends to his place of work in some lofty building by the aid of a machine; throughout a busy day he follows a machine, fitting his ideas and acts into its arbitrary mechanical rhythm; finally a machine which told him when to start tells him when to stop his work." As will be seen later, industrial revolution and the part played by the machine in society is making necessary a complete reconsideration of problems of education from the viewpoint of the worker's leisure time. The increasing need of attacking the problems of the industrial worker may be seen if one realizes that there were 12,818,524 men and women employed in manufacturing and mechanical industries in 1920, an increase of 5,695,537 over those so employed in 1900. Concerned also in this change are the new rights and powers of the working man, new experiments in industrial democracy, and the great number of programs and plans for social and economic reform. For a number of years the Y. W. C. A. and the Y. M. C. A. have sponsored groups of college students who each year enter industry as manual workers, living on the same wages and working under the same conditions as the

other workers in order to come face to face with industrial problems and understand them at first hand. In 1926 at Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana, a "Student in Industry Conference" was instituted to meet a need for interchange of ideas and frank discussion of the problems and issues involved.

Democracy and Government. Among the results of the whole upset of society caused by changing civilization are the newer demands upon government. Government is no longer merely a matter of police protection and theoretical sovereignty. Problems of government are the problems of serving its constituency. The problems of its constituency are the social and economic problems of an industrial, urban, and rural civilization. Participation in public education, public improvements, public health, public welfare, and other coöperative ventures is but the logical outcome of the growing demands upon government made by rapid change. Greater wealth, however, makes possible through taxation and community effort this coöperation of government with the common man.

The Enlarging Community. The acquisition of new knowledge, the growth of new industries, the invention of new conveniences, and the enlargement of social life in the community all serve to emphasize the importance of community organization and community coöperation. Play and recreation programs, community entertainments, civic enterprises, and plans for developing community pride are essential. The community is not only its brother's keeper but the keeper of youth. A newer spirit of community reaches out to international relations and world fellowship. Thus the new community spirit involves the whole process of association and challenges anew the best efforts of society to develop the larger fellowship of the world order. The new order eliminates minor communities, tends to do away with differences between country and city, and changes the radius of community activities so that the world at large may know the same facts, think the same thoughts, and run the risk of being made into a machine world. Professor Beach states the problem succinctly when he says, "The building of roads and railroads, bridges, great canals and harbors, steamships, printing presses, and enormous buildings has changed the appearance of nature and has brought about a new grouping of people. The isolation of separate groups or societies,

each having its peculiar life and customs, has given place to a mingling of social elements and to a wide and complex contact of varying traditions and folk-ways."

The Shrinkage of Time and Space. Startling have been the results which science and invention have brought about through the radical shrinkage in time and space. A few seconds now suffice to carry information and news which originally required days, weeks, or months. At the present day, therefore, the problem of time has been all but eliminated. In much the same way, rapid transportation of individuals and of commodities conspires to make light of both time and space. Perishable goods from Florida are delivered to a close neighbor in New York. A carload of Wisconsin milk is shipped directly to Florida. The whole story of the effect of the physical sciences upon society would serve as further concrete evidence. The new agriculture and the electrification of rural and city life are notable examples. Thus the old sentimental expression about the whole world being one's neighbor becomes more and more nearly literal truth. These transformations must inevitably result not only in the virtual elimination of time and space with reference to physical supplies and facilities, but will also minimize the distances between folk in regard to cultural and spiritual life.

Social Change and Physical Environment. One of the most remarkable products of science, invention, medicine, social organization is the power of mankind to transform physical environment. A later chapter will discuss the physical environment as one of the major forces which mold society. It is sufficient here to note how the products of social change already enumerated have enabled mankind to make of uninhabitable areas garden spots of the world. The application of methods of irrigation to arid regions of the west has converted desert lands into populous farming districts. The identification of the malaria-carrying mosquito and methods for the control of that disease have made the West Indies and other tropical countries inhabitable for the white man. Harris and Butt, in *Scientific Research and Human Welfare*, give the appalling figures of 100 to 176.97 as the death rate per thousand from yellow fever and malaria among employees of the French Canal Company at the Isthmus of Panama. In 1914, when the Americans were building the canal after the cause and control

of these diseases had been discovered, there was a death rate of only 3.13 per thousand. Thus, another scientific discovery has culminated in man's further conquest over his environment. Not only will new civilizations continue to develop in the tropical areas, but the energies and abilities of mankind will be further tested and developed through the mastery of physical environment and the adaptation of cultural life to new scenes. Thus, as has been pointed out, if man in the past has developed much of his ability and civilization through his efforts to keep warm and comfortable in the colder zones, what will be the results of his efforts to remain cool, comfortable, and happy in the warmer zones now made inhabitable by science and engineering?

Historical Stages of Social Change. We have previously referred to Professor Beach's discussion of the different eras of change. He thinks that the epochs of great change in the world's life are not only of great historical importance but are of great popular interest and dramatic power as well. He calls attention to the spread of the empire of Alexander the Great, the development of the Greek states and their impact upon the emotional life of the East, the Crusades, the European Renaissance, the French Revolution, the modern industrial revolution, the World War, and the present era. There are, of course, scores of intermediate periods set in motion by the impetus of some particular inventions, discovery, religious, political, or educational movement. Barnard and Roorbach in *Epochs of World Progress* list ten great epochs: early Civilization, Græco-Roman, The Age of Fusion, Feudalism, Enlightenment, Absolutism and Colonial Expansion, Political Revolution, Scientific Progress and Social Reform, Imperialism and Conflict, The New Internationalism. The study of such historical epochs becomes a wholesome reminder of the futility of dogmatism on the one hand or pessimism on the other. The present world of change and of conflict simply presents a greater field of normal evolutionary and historical process which the student of social problems should examine with enthusiasm but also with scientific care.

Evolutionary Stages of Change. So far in this chapter the processes of change have been discussed as they relate to more or less modern social currents and social problems. Equally important with the study of these currents is knowledge of the

fundamental changes and development of society in the earlier eras of its life span. The whole story of human progress yields much valuable material for the study of present situations. How have peoples grown from one period to another? What have been their dangers and pitfalls? When and how have they survived? What have been the social attitudes and scientific resources? What have been typical stages of progress and typical problems? How have these varied and how have they differed from those of the present? How are they related to modern social problems? What will be the future stages through which society evolves and will the recurrent pitfalls of the past be avoided through social intelligence and social devotion? If we are approaching now the period of human adequacy, directly through and upon the building of the metaphysical, scientific, and social stages, how may the analogies of the past contribute to the cultural and practical ends that we desire? Illustrative types are illuminating. What is the significance of Lubbock's and other epochs?

The Epoch of Drift: The age of paleolithic life.
The Epoch of Polished Stone: The age of neolithic life.
The Epoch of Bronze: The age of cutting instruments and polished arms.
The Epoch of Iron: The age of multiplicity of arms and instruments.
Other Stated Epochs: The copper, bronze, iron ages.
Hesiod's Epochs: Gold, silver, bronze, iron.

Varied cultural materials for the further study of social development may be found in the sources cited for reference.

Advancing Stages of Development. The study of human development has given rise to a host of culture-schemes, which tabulate the advance of the race in various stages and overlapping epochs. Many students have made effective classifications for the purpose of understanding the trend of history and for comparative study of modern social facts. Examples might be cited in abundance. Three classic categories are those of Spencer, Condorcet, and Giddings:

Spencer.—Savage, Militaristic, Militaristic-Industrial, Industrial.
Condorcet.—Period of wandering hordes, of agricultural groups, of industrial development, of commercial attainments, Rise of philosophy and science, Decline of philosophy and science, Revival after invention of printing, Broadening of men, Perfectibility.

Giddings.—The zoögenic period, The anthropogenic period, The ethnogenic period, The demogenic period: (a) military-religious, (b) liberal-legal, (c) economic-ethical.

A Government Culture-Stage. If one wishes further schemes there are the political, educational, sociological as illustrations for further and more advanced culture study. The Plato-Aristotle cycle is one that many have thought generic in its representation of the evolution of government, and many variations have been proposed. In general the cycle is: monarchy with tyranny; aristocracy with oligarchy; democracy with ochlocracy. Analogies of this political cycle may be found in matters of wealth, learning, art, and leadership, in all of which the superior type of man gets further and further away from the crowd in his valuations and manner of living and fails to educate the group to himself. Another valuable culture-stage theory that seeks to explain the origin of government is one which may be adapted from Hobbes. The first stage was marked by the Law of Survival: the struggle for existence and growth. The second was marked by the Law of Conflict: every man's hand against his brother, to survive by fighting and slaying. The third was marked by the Law of Compact, since the second law defeated the purpose of the first. The fourth stage would arrive with the perfection of social and political organization to fulfill the third. While such a general statement of the stages as has been indicated here will not now satisfy students of government, this theory is an excellent illustration of the stage-type of social growth and more will be said about it in the later chapters on the state.

Educational Stages and Trends. Few more illuminating studies have been made than those relating to the changing emphasis in education. These studies are valuable as reflecting different educational and social objectives in accordance with changing economic and social conditions, as well as helping indirectly to guide the course of such changes. A view of the evolution of the educational ideal and of the vast immeasurable changes in the specific institutions and methods of education will in itself give a large picture of the changing social emphasis that has led up to the present demand for social objectives and social study. Some of the stages as commonly grouped are typical:

Primitive Education, with its organic stirrings and growth.

Oriental Education, with its religions and castes.

Jewish Education, with its moral and religious training.

Greek Education, with its several stages—Training of youth and manhood, for intellectual superiority, for the beautiful, the true and the good; theories of the state.

Roman Education, with its distinctive aims and later absorption of the Greek.

The Education of the Early Christians, with its rare mixture of many elements.

The Monastic Education, with its religious and cultural complexes.

Scholasticism, with its conflict of faith and reason.

Chivalry, with its feudal background and preparatory stages for modern education.

Humanism, with its revival of learning and culture.

The Reformation, with its revolt and new method and content.

Realism, with humanistic, social, and early sense realism.

The Scientific Movement, following sense realism and the academies.

Formal Discipline, with its theories of intellectual, moral and physical education.

Democracy in Education, with its swing away from the individualistic culture to the social-individual ideal.

Naturalism, turning back again to the individual culture in relation to social development.

Philanthropy in Education, paving the way for the public education movement.

Public Education, with its vast beginnings of universal application.

Observation and Industrial Training, with their experimental excursions.

Educational Practice, with its contributions to methods.

Vocational Education and Guidance, with studies and practice in adaptation.

The New Scientific Movement, with the extension of science to society.

The Social Movement, with the determination of social objectives.

These are stated in general after the order of Professor Graves, in his *History of Education*, but there are omitted many of the smaller unit-stages represented by certain institutions, movements, legislation, organizations, all of which add richness to the story of the ever-changing emphasis through many generations.

Sociological Stages. Perhaps more immediately of interest to the student of social problems would be the evolution of the social

ideas, as distinguished from the educational ideal, commonly considered in technical studies of education. More studies of social evolution in this sense need to be made, following preliminary presentations of the history of social thinking and of social theories. In these the student may soon find abundant material for advanced study. For the present the single illustration of Comte's three stages will serve to introduce a possible modern classification of sociology. Comte was sure that society had always advanced through three stages: the theological, the metaphysical, and the scientific. One might very well test out this theory in the case not only of peoples but of individuals by recollecting one's own intellectual growth from childhood to maturity, from limited experience and ignorance to broader training and knowledge. The question might be raised as to whether society is not entering now upon a fourth stage in which the scientific has led on into the social stage, and in which the social individual will become the first of all objectives. And this suggestion brings us to the point of considering, in a very practical and popular way, how it is that sociology comes to direct its inquiries into matters of social emphasis and trend, and what therefore is the larger meaning and place of sociology in the modern era. Leaving historical and theoretical terminology to the advanced student, is it possible for us to look at sociology as developing through four interrelated stages, each retaining, utilizing and attempting always to perfect previous stages? Considered as a body of knowledge that can satisfy human inquiries, sociology may be thus analyzed:

Answering the query as to what Society *is:* social structure and *social statics.*

Answering the query as to what Society *does:* social function and *social dynamics.*

Answering the query as to what Society, best evolved, *should become and do:* social purpose and *social ethics.*

Answering the query as to how Society, combining all aspects and correlating allied subjects, may *discover truth and promote progress: social science.*

This last classification should be compared with Professor Giddings' inquiry as to "wherein and to what extent Sociology is indubitably a study of Human Society and how it can be made more rigorously so," as stated in the preface of his *The Scientific Study of Human*

Society constantly referred to in the chapter exercises of this book. Likewise the last two should be compared with Ward's concept of applied sociology as opposed to pure sociology.

Social Change and Social Guidance. Certain other important questions must be studied before the full meaning of social change can be adequately interpreted. What is the nature of social change? What are the determining factors in social change? Is there some law or rate of social change? Are such a possible rate and direction predictable or controllable? In general, change is concerned with social and economic development rather than with alterations in human nature itself. Aristotle used to speak of a fourfold change, in essence, quality, quantity, and place. Ogburn thinks that change in quantity is accumulative so far as material culture is concerned, but that material culture is selective also. Ogburn has listed a dozen factors in change, including the biological, the psychological, the discovery of new cultural elements, the influence of natural environment. Those elements which tend to cause inertia are the need for survival, the difficulty of invention and diffusion, vested interests, tradition, habit, social pressure, the fear of the unpleasant, the fear of the new. Concerning the rate of change, it is at present not possible to work out laws, since the rate varies from time to time and for different types of civilization. Ogburn concludes that cultural change is partly deterministic, but it is not a matter of changing human nature or of controlling social development in wholesale ways by legislation and teaching. This whole question of social control and social change remains, therefore, an important one for further study. Other aspects of this subject will be considered in the next chapter on the physical backgrounds of society.

FOR FURTHER STUDY

For Information

1. Explain Ogburn's social lag.
2. What do you consider the greatest social changes in the last fifty years?
3. To what extent and in what ways has the school changed to meet the changed ideals?
4. What changes are contributing toward making the whole world "one's neighbor"?

5. Give examples of the results of scientific research in transforming physical environment.

For Stimulating Thought

6. What evidences are there to indicate that society is coming to value more highly process and change?
7. What forces in the past have contributed toward retarding social change?
8. Discuss the difference between change and progress.
9. Progress implies change. Then why has man held progress to be a *summum bonum* and yet feared change?
10. Why are "the old days" always esteemed as best?

For Research and Creative Writing

11. Record the institutional changes which have come under your observation in a generation.
12. Comte said that society had advanced through the theological, metaphysical, and scientific stages. Select any one of the social sciences and attempt to trace through the three stages.
13. Write the story of a pioneer in social engineering.
14. List evidences of society's disregard for those who think ahead of the times.
15. Illustrate institutional lag in each of six major institutions.

For Practical Application

16. Write the story of a lagging community.
17. Show how church programs may contribute to a recognition of a changing world and changing ideals.
18. Plan an industrial program whereby industry may come to a fuller recognition of the present-day worker in industry.
19. Draw up a city government program which would more nearly anticipate rapidly changing city conditions.
20. Indicate social problems arising from changing community conditions.

For Continuity of Effort

21. Discuss the meaning of liberal religion.
22. What civic organizations contribute to the planning of the community?

23. Give examples of community disorganization due to social change.
24. One of the important factors in social measurement, according to Professor Giddings, is the conditional factor. Show how new business or community projects ought to be planned with this in mind.
25. To what extent is education directing social development and evolution in America?

For Effective Reading

26. For special study: Ogburn's *Social Change*, Chapter XIII of Beach's *Introduction to Sociology*, Sumner's *Folkways*, Carter's *The Social Theory of Leonard T. Hobhouse*, Barnard and Roorback's *Epochs of World Progress*.
27. For sampling or exhaustive reading: Conklin, E. G., Dendy, De la Blache, Dorsey, Fairgrieve, Febre, Gates, H. W., Goldenweiser, Hrdlicka, Huntington, Kelsey, Kroeber, de Laguna, Marshall, Mukerjee, Muntsch, Saleeby, Semple, Simar, Storch, Thomas, F., Thorpe, Wissler.

CHAPTER VIII

THE PHYSICAL BACKGROUND OF SOCIETY

The General Influence of Physical Environment. In Chapter I we listed the general physical environment as one of the major social forces affecting the individual and the group. In the two chapters preceding this we have emphasized the importance of geographic influences and general physical environment upon the nature and qualification of social leaders and upon the whole process of social change. Professor Beach goes so far as to say that a great part of the rapid and enormous change of the present era has been due to the natural environment. Certainly the widening conquest of nature by man has been one of the greatest of all stimuli to scientific discovery as well as to social engineering. Climate and soil and accessibility have been most important factors in the development of communities and of civilizations. There are those who hold that efficiency in human society varies according to climate and that low efficiency must inevitably be present in excessively warm regions. In this chapter we shall take up further many of these considerations together with their bearing upon social study and social problems, and shall review briefly the influence of physical environment upon human nature and the social order.

Human Geography. Among the most important evidences of the newer attention that is being given to the physical environment are the modern tendencies in the science of geography. Whereas the old emphasis tended to ignore the human element in geography, the newer science treats more and more fully the social and humanistic aspects. Mr. C. C. Huntington, in *School and Society* for October 23, 1926, gives some of the evidences for the dynamic quality of geography as a science. Fifty years ago, he points out, geography was in a descriptive state. Some emphasis was laid upon political geography and a little later geography may have been considered as a science of distribution. Early in the twentieth century the subject entered upon the biogeographic

stage, which dealt with the relation between the earth and its inhabitants. More recently, however, the new geography has passed to the human or social stage. "Earth in its relation to man," "the distribution and character of men in relation to their surroundings," "man and his conquest of nature," "the scene of the struggle for human progress,"—these are phrases which indicate the popularity of Professor Lyde's verdict that "to most of us geography seems to have neither meaning nor value apart from man."

Varied Phases and Subdivisions. Without minimizing, therefore, the importance of studying physical geography for its own sake, the student of social problems must recognize the still greater interest that attaches to the influence of nature upon social and ethnic development. There are many phases to this subject. Professor Huntington has summarized them admirably.

> The second main division of the science, namely, social geography, emphasizing as it does the human side of the geographic relationship, naturally should be subdivided according to the classification of man and his activities. Thus we have racial geography, economic geography, political geography, military geography, etc., as the chief subdivisions. Each of these can be further subdivided on the same basis of man's distribution and activities. For example, under economic geography would come industrial and commercial geography, each dealing with the corresponding economic activities in relation to natural environment. Historical geography also comes under social geography, but it is not coördinate with the above subdivisions, as it may be studied with respect to any or all of them when they are considered in their time relations. All the foregoing divisions, too, may be applied to any specific region and thus become regional geography. The essential thing in all social geography is that it is man, his distribution or his activities studied in relation to environment.

Cultural Anthropology. Like geography, anthropology in recent years has turned its attention to vivid and effective descriptive processes of peoples in relation to culture and environment. Just as geography advanced from physical to social, so anthropology has come into its larger field of cultural interpretation. The beginnings of such anthropology, of course, were based upon the old geographical and archæological backgrounds. Professor Goldenweiser, for instance, refers to Bastian, an early pioneer in cultural

anthropology, as having made nine world-wide journeys, including America, Africa, India, Eastern Asia, and many of the islands of the South Seas. Thus, as has been pointed out by many writers, a study of man in his natural setting and a consideration of environmental influence has played a very important part in the whole direction of anthropology. One school of anthropology, for instance, holding that the human mind is the same the world over, argues that similar cultural traits result from the reaction of similar minds to like environments and that different types of culture arise as these same minds react to different physical environments. Anthropology, geology, and sociology, therefore, join hands in a combined study of social development and social problems which ought to bring about valuable results.

Historical Phases. Mr. Franklin Thomas, in his volume on *The Environmental Basis of Society*, finds that geographic influence has been recognized by many writers, even from the days of Herodotus and Thucydides. In the modern period, the most noteworthy contribution was that of Buckle, who set forth the theory that environment exerts a direct influence upon the characteristics of the group. That is, mountain folk or plains folk or forest folk would vary in their psychic characteristics because of the physical environment. Later theorists have pointed out that the environment merely furnishes a different kind of stimulus and that the social groups then work out their own distinct cultures. Others have observed the influence of physical environment upon biological, economic, political, and general cultural development. History itself is of course told often in terms of geography, and some of those who have set forth theories concerning the environmental basis of society have been professional historians. It remains, further, for the science of society to continue the study and to portray more accurate relations between physical environment and social progress.

Location and Accessibility. To indicate in a simple way the importance of physical surroundings upon the nature of community and society it is only necessary to call attention to the requirements for an inhabitable area. Three fundamental backgrounds are necessary for every region which is to be inhabited by human beings and made socially continuous. These three are a favorable climate, soil, and accessibility. It is readily seen

that the element of accessibility, of communication with the outside world and with other groups, will be an essential controlling factor in the nature and development of any group. Location and situation are important with reference to health, commerce, and culture. A great metropolis will owe its size and power as a railway, export, or distributing center to strategic position. From size and the consequent multiplicity of activities, will come, in turn, its varying life and culture. Historical examples may be found in the Greek cities with their access to the sea, the powerful cities of Rome and Carthage, and the more modern British Empire with its acute selection of colonies.

Pioneers in Human Geography. As forerunners of the modern human geographers there were various philosophers, historians, and geographers of early days who made random observations upon man and his relation to his environment. Such ancient names as Hippocrates, Aristotle, Polybius, Vitruvius, Galen, Strabo, Aquinas, and Ibn Khaldun suggest the early beginnings of a later systematic study of the interrelation of man and his geographic setting. A summary and further development of the theories of these earlier writers is found in the works of Bodin. Writers of the eighteenth century who contributed to geographic study were Mead, Arbuthnut, Montesquieu, Buffon, Herder, and Humboldt. The nineteenth century brought the decisive trends which have since developed into the modern study of human geography. The beginnings of a systematic and scientific study of geography began with Karl Ritter who methodically compiled and organized existing geographic data. He was followed by Cotta, Kohl, and Peschel. Then came Friedrich Ratzel who is considered the originator of the modern science of human geography and was the first to use the term "Anthropogeography." Another of the greatest pioneers in the study of the effect of the physical environment upon the human race was Buckle. His theories of the effect of climate, soil, and food upon society are found in his unfinished work, *The History of Civilization in England.* Ripley, in *The Races of Europe*, gives especial emphasis to climate and the problem of acclimatization. The correlation of weather conditions and human behavior has been made by Dexter. Of eminent value in the study of weather conditions, seasonal changes, and climate in relation to races and peoples

have been the outstanding studies of Ellsworth Huntington. Other noteworthy contributions of the modern era in France have come from Jean Brunhes, Vallaux, and Vidal de la Blache. A theory of the physical environment as related to psychic factors has been worked out by Professor Giddings. Still another eminent leader in the field of human geography has been Ellen Churchill Semple, a former student and enthusiastic follower of Friedrich Ratzel. A study of these leaders of geographic thought will show the gradual course of the trend away from purely physical geography to the present emphasis upon geographic factors as interrelated with and inseparable from man.

Climate. Even in everyday life the student of social problems will recognize the influence of climate upon the nature and work of groups in different sections of his own country. The farmer in Florida, with his year-round growing season, varies his methods and his crops from those of the farmer in New Hampshire, who has at best only a short growing season. The activities of the farmer in the colder zone, therefore, during the rest of the year will differ widely from those of the farmer in the warmer area. In the same way the crops and methods of work and customs will vary widely between those folk who live in dry or desert areas and those who live in regions of great humidity and rainfall. The New England farmer, at times snowbound, has methods of caring for his live stock, of preserving his crops, of heating his home and barns which are quite different from the ways of an easy-going southern farm tenant. And of course the influence of climate upon social progress will appear much more marked if the student considers the various geographic areas of the world from tropics to frigid zone.

Civilizations and Climate. Miss Semple, like many other students of geographic influences, has maintained that though man originated in the tropics, a great civilization did not develop until there were migrations into temperate zones. She points out the fact that when man has remained in the tropics and has been deprived of the compulsion and more severe struggle imposed by the temperate zones, he continues in a primitive and infantile stage. "As the tropics have been the cradle of humanity, the Temperate Zone has been the cradle and school of civilizations. Here nature has given much by withholding much. Here man

found his birthright, the privilege of the struggle." There are those who have maintained that civilization has progressed from east to west; there are others who say that centers of civilization have shifted from south to north as man has become more adaptable and more able to withstand a more rigorous climate. Mr. Huntington, though agreeing in general that civilizations have progressed from south to north is at variance with other exponents of this theory in one respect. He sees civilizations moving farther north not as the result of an increase in man's adaptability but because they have always developed under essentially similar climatic conditions. This he explains by his theory of pulsatory climatic changes in contradistinction to the older theory of glacial changes.

More Practical Applications. The advanced student of social problems will find much scientific data and much enjoyment in studying the history of the theories, ancient, medieval, and modern, of the relation of climate to society. In this volume, however, he may prefer to place a greater emphasis upon important questions concerning the effect, present and future, of climate upon social life and social progress. What, for instance, will be the future influence of the climate of our Southern States upon general culture and efficiency? Some recent books have assumed that the greater inefficiency of the South as compared with other sections of the country is due to climatic conditions. Have these writers omitted to take into consideration the influences of historical and economic development, of the Civil War, of the Negro population? Are they ignorant of recent accomplishments which may be well attributed to the stimulation of a warm climate for creative work, for discovering new ways of human association and achievement? Have they refused to consider the theory that a warm climate may become an asset rather than a liability? What is the future, economic, political, cultural, of all great tropic and subtropic areas, not only in the United States but in the world at large? Will society surrender to climate as in former years, or will its varied stimuli make out of society, through science and human endeavor, a more effective humanity?

Migrations and Climate. During the year 1924–25 students of American life found unusual opportunity to study the interesting phenomenon of human migrations between different climatic areas.

The trek to Florida by hordes of people, as individuals and groups, has been described as one of the most phenomenal and romantic movements in America. The original basis of this migration is found, of course, in the climate of Florida. Climate became for the time her chief jewel. Science, working through economic and commercial leadership, had made attractive beyond compare areas previously considered uninhabitable. Then came organization, crowd psychology, and mass movement. The fact that some of the migrants and many of the adventurers found no gold at the end of the rainbow, and the fact that the artificial phases of the Florida boom brought disaster to some, did not affect the original merits of the situation or the thesis that Florida could furnish because of its climate a playground for many peoples. On the other hand, further evidences of the importance of climate may be seen from subsequent havoc in the state wrought by West Indian hurricanes. Thus tropical climate, on the one hand calling mankind to sunny playgrounds, on the other challenges him to defense against the sweeping power of nature. And between these two extremes will be developed new abilities and new methods of social survival.

Natural Resources. We have already referred to the influence of the soil upon the life and work of communities. The term "soil," of course, might be made to include the whole field of natural resources. The great primary occupations upon which the world's original industry was founded had their origin largely in the soil, if we include falling and running water as complements to earth and rock. Farming in general, with its many specialties such as cattle raising, fruit growing, and the like, is a product of the soil. Mining, with its varied search after metals, minerals, and gems from the bosom of the earth, has its origin in the soil. Lumbering and forestry, products of the soil, have transformed the face of the earth in more ways than one. The old and new arts of hunting and fishing tap natural resources of great importance in influencing the life and work of peoples. In each of these fields of human endeavor the amount of human wealth and the quality of human culture vary directly with the nature of the soil and its fruits. The multiplication of the products of the soil through seed testing, through scientific agriculture and forestry, and through the various processes of invention, challenges each

new generation to greater achievement. Sumner and Keller, in their *Science of Society*, go so far as to make the man-land ratio the basis of their science.

Concrete Results. Regarding the influence of soil and climate upon environment there have been many theories. Perhaps all of them are of both interest and value to the student of social life. The old theories held that a rich soil and a warm climate produced a poverty-stricken people of effeminate character, whereas a relatively poor soil and a cold climate led to thrift, courage, and the heroic spirit. On a soil which determines that fruit and vegetables shall be the chief food of its people the inhabitants will be of a different sort from those people whose diet consists of sterner substance. Other theories point out how the nature of soil and climate limit the size of families, the standard of living, and therefore the general character of the population. In America the distinction between North and South has often been remarked as consisting of a difference in character—in the South conviviality and emotional intensity; in the North thrift and intellectual effort. And while no larger studies have been made to substantiate these general conclusions, as a basis for contrast the common impressions are important for the student.

Self-sufficing Communities. A popular way of calling attention to the importance of natural resources in the development of communities and societies will be found in the current claims made by different localities, states, and even by the United States itself. "We have," proclaims the secretary of a state-wide improvement company, "a state which provides for all the principal climatic opportunities in this country." He then proceeds to expatiate upon the coastal or tropical belt, the more temperate climate of the central region, and the cooler areas of the high altitudes. Furthermore, such advertising organizations point out the wide range of opportunities in the soil for all sorts of farming, cattle raising, manufacture, mining, and the like. "We could," they effuse, "support ourselves in all particulars and be self-sufficient, even though a wall as high as Heaven were built around us." Thus they enter their claim as members of a meritorious community upon the physical environment of climate and soil. It is customary also for the patriot and enthusiast in this country to point out how these United States provide a physical basis for the

greatest wealth imaginable. And there are many of the critics of America, sympathetic and unsympathetic, who claim that this physical environment has already fixed the prevailing characteristics of American life. What has been the effect in the past of all-sufficing and isolated regions on the evolution of cultures and civilizations?

The Effect of Isolation. With the advance of scientific discovery and the greater communicability between nations and countries, the effect of isolation tends to be diminished. Distinctive cultures have grown up and crystallized in remote regions, cut off from the rest of the world by seas, impassable mountain ranges or other physical hindrances to easy intercourse. Though contact with other civilizations and interchange of ideas and cultures usually bring a broader and more superior development, many of the great civilizations of the past have taken shape in isolated regions protected from hostile neighbors by water or lofty mountains. Examples of independent cultural development may be found in Japan, China, Greece, the Italian Peninsula, Spain, the Scandinavian Peninsula, and Great Britain. These regions admirably situated and sufficiently detached from the rest of the world to develop distinctive qualities and characteristics of a peculiar national stamp, N. S. Shaler picturesquely calls the "cradles of peoples." Miss Semple points out that differentiation varies with the degree of isolation, but that isolation may lead to opposite cultural results. On the one hand, if the type of culture is low and the need of stimulation from without great, the result of isolation will be retardation or a drop to a lower level of savagery. On the other hand, if a people has already attained a degree of civilization, separation or isolation will free them from the retarding influence of invading armies and constant friction with their neighbors. However, she further remarks that this advantage is received more from insulation than from complete isolation, as in the cases of England and Japan, which are protected from invasion but are also near enough to the continent for cultural contact. In our own country we may observe distinctive and independent cultures evolved out of isolation. The remoter regions of the Southern Appalachians have produced a people whose culture has crystallized and remained static to such an extent that now they possess a social life entirely their own. And who can say that

beyond the Rocky Mountain barriers a culture has not evolved of an independent character and different stamp from that of the eastern part of the United States?

Modern and Ancient World. It must be clear, however, that no conclusions which may have been reached from the study of the past will be valid for all time to come. In the previous chapter we pointed out many of the important results of social change which have come through science and invention. Among the most important of these are the elements which have enabled mankind to master his physical environment. Tunneling through hills, sailing across the waters, flying above the mountains, talking over the wires, singing through the spaces,—these and many other everyday, matter-of-fact actions bespeak our dominion over the world of matter. The conquest of medicine over tropical disease, the science and art of heating and lighting, of building, of drainage, have made possible newer reaches in the mastery of the physical environment. But even so, the very fact that the physical environment is absorbing the energies and intelligence of mankind is the chief factor of importance in this present study of the relation of society to its physical setting. It would seem important, therefore, to see how the modern student of social problems or perhaps the prophet or the son of a prophet may look upon the summary of the whole situation.

Is Physical Environment Less and Less Important? There have, of course, been a great many critics of the major theories concerning the influence of physical environment upon social control. The modern student seems to conclude that in the history of peoples those who live in middle or temperate zones have been superior to those others who live nearer the poles or the equator. They seem to agree that man needs opposition from his environment to bring out the best that is in him. They appear to think that the centers of civilization have shifted in some order and progressive method, but that geographic factors were more important in primitive society than they are in modern society. Here again, however, if one grants the hypotheses as to the past there will be inconsistencies enough in the future. If man needs opposition to bring out the best that is in him, is there not greater opportunity for mastery of nature at the poles and at the equator than in the temperate zones? Is not this, therefore, a supreme

challenge to science and humanity? Isolation and accessibility, of course, affect people greatly, but do not isolated peoples to-day call for our keenest interest and help, now that science and education may come in through the newer avenues of discovery and communication?

The Physical Background and Primitive Life. Whatever differences in opinion and viewpoint may exist with reference to the various theories and estimates of the influence of climate, soil, position, general resources upon society and culture, there seems to be agreement on one important particular. As society progresses, the importance of physical environment tends to recede into the background. In the life of the primitive man nature and physical surroundings exert a far stronger influence than in more advanced stages of culture. His customs, occupations, religions, and modes of living are all reflections of natural environment. The Eskimo must occupy himself with protection against the cold, with the securing of heat-producing foods such as seal oil obtained with the greatest difficulty from wild animals, whereas the man of the tropics feeds upon berries, fruits, and roots secured with comparative ease. In nature the primitive man sees power, power to live, power to survive, power to cope with fortuitous circumstances, for back of nature is the god, the god of the forest, the god of the hills, the god of the storms, the god of the chase. Not only does physical environment demand that the Eskimo wear furs and the Bushman only the loin cloth, and that a pastoral tribe shall worship the gods of the flocks and of the hills and that one which depends upon agriculture and hunting for subsistence shall worship the god of the harvest or of the chase, but even social customs are influenced by natural surroundings. It is usually customary to maintain the aged and infirm in tribes where living is comparatively easy; but among the Eskimos, where the natural environment allows food to be secured only with the greatest difficulty, and among certain nomadic tribes where nature demands constant migration to fresher pasture lands, the preservation of the aged and crippled is considered a breach of good conduct, for under the physical conditions that surround them those who cannot contribute to tribal welfare are only a hindrance to the others. Miss Semple, in *Influences of Geographic Environment*, shows how the desert as an environment affects religious

origins. While the stimulating air of the desert awakens intellectual activity and imaginative thought, there is little concrete material in the environment for deductive reasoning to play upon, and therefore the desert dweller occupies himself with contemplation. When the pastoral nomad outgrew his fetishism and nature-worship, because of the monotony and sameness of the desert surroundings he received the impression of unity and in accord with his whole mental make-up a monotheistic religion developed. She points out that the three great monotheistic religions have received in their origin and development the desert influences of Syria and Arabia.

Mastery of Nature and of Society. A large part of the romance of science has been depicted as turning the powers of nature into the service of man. There are those who predict marvelous achievement through the further use of electricity, the mingled elements of the atmosphere, of the tides, the distribution of power, the conquest of bacteria, and the utilization of many other possible natural resources. Nevertheless, the increasing use of nature to promote human efficiency and culture must necessarily bring on not only the mastery of nature but new social problems. A world of labor with half-time leisure must needs have its education for leisure time and its character training for the right use of modern luxuries. Problems of health, of education, of abnormalities, arising in complex, swift-moving civilizations, ought to have their share of the social student's attention alongside the lesser problem of the mastery of nature. For, after all, the process of learning how to control his world is a long one, and man is still but a small unit in the organic universe and his time but as a watch in the night.

Miscellaneous Problems. There remain still for the student of society many separate though related factors and problems that have to do with the physical environment. The problem of isolation in the rural districts and congestion in the cities is one. The influence of occupations upon culture and character—occupations being conditioned often by physical resources—is another. The wandering migrations within and between states and nations will constitute a third. The whole problem of racial character and racial distribution is awaiting more earnest consideration. Measuring health, thrift, personal activity, general

achievement, culture, work, is a difficult task. Attempting to find the influence of work, food, culture, race, custom upon local problems is a labor calling for the united efforts of many students of social problems. Following these arise important problems of testing the mentality, abilities, and character of groups which have been dominated by physical environment. Finally, there are the very important problems of gauging the whole influence of the mass mind and of social and political storms which often incapacitate a people for utilizing natural resources successfully. And there are, finally, other factors in the little-known phenomena of earth and sky and stars and storms. These factors, however, will constitute a separate force, which we shall consider in the next chapter.

FOR FURTHER STUDY

For Information

1. Trace the evolutionary stages of human geography.
2. Name some chief contributors to the science of human geography.
3. Compare the advantages and disadvantages of isolation upon cultural development.
4. Why is the effect of physical environment becoming less and less important in the modern world?
5. What are three requirements for an inhabitable region?

For Stimulating Thought

6. What is the danger of too much emphasis upon the self-sufficiency of a community?
7. D. G. Brinton says that "the races now native to the polar and tropical areas are distinctly *pathological*." Correlate with Huntington's theory of pulsatory climatic changes.
8. How has physical environment played a part in creating sectionalism in this country?
9. In the past centers of civilization have often comprised relatively small areas, *e. g.*, Greece, Rome, Germany. Will the same be true in the future?
10. It has been generally agreed that the most productive climate is a temperate one. Then why the great trek to semitropical Florida climate?

For Research and Creative Writing

11. Classify large American metropolitan centers according to their dependence upon favorable location.
12. List groups in the United States according to regional geographic influences and institutional character.
13. Classify occupations in this country with reference to geographic influence.
14. Discuss the value of solitude and communion with nature to such men as Rousseau and Thoreau.
15. Write a short story or description of the life and work of a southern, a New England, or a midwestern farmer.

For Practical Application

16. Show how natural resources in your community could be utilized more effectively.
17. Make a study of waste of local natural resources: forests or wood.
18. In a specific community study how man has conquered nature and nature has affected man: swamp lands, for instance.
19. Give concrete examples of man's attempt to conserve nature such as the application of tree surgery.
20. Outline a plan for making more inhabitable the natural surroundings of the slums or poorer sections of a city.

For Continuity of Effort

21. What national or local organizations have been formed for the conservation of natural resources?
22. What has city and regional planning done to better fit man into his physical setting?
23. To what extent do a chamber of commerce or other organizations for boosting towns or cities emphasize climatic conditions, natural resources, and natural beauty?
24. Name local organizations in town or city for beautifying the natural setting.
25. Give the story of the efforts of one man to turn nature into more productive channels.

For Effective Reading

26. For special study: Huntington's *Pulse of Progress*, Thomas' *Environmental Basis of Society*, Wissler's *Man and Culture*, Mukerjee's *Regional Sociology*, De La Blache's *Principles of Human Geography*.
27. For sampling or exhaustive reading: Crawford, Hobhouse, McCabe, Muller-Lyer, Ogburn, Rawie, Rivers, Rowntree, Smith, G. B., Smith, R. H., Sumner, Tawney, Thomas, E., Tozzer, Triggs, Wells, M. E., White, W. A., Wood.

CHAPTER IX

SOCIAL INCIDENCE AND SOCIAL EMERGENCIES

Social Incidence. In earlier chapters of this volume we emphasized the importance of knowing that situations in the social world do not just happen without cause or effect, any more than they do in the physical world. The fact that causes of social problems may be more remote, more complex, less easily subject to analysis, renders them not less but more important and more far-reaching as well. It has been a common mistake of current judgments to ignore causes. In this volume we have attempted to point out some of the major backgrounds of social problems and social development. We have pointed out the importance of the great social institutions, each of which will be treated in a later chapter. We have discussed the social forces of leadership, of social change, and of general physical environment. We now come to another large force, perhaps more difficult, more intangible, but none the less vital and real. This force involves that large group of factors found in what we shall call *social incidence*, a term often used and implied by Professor Giddings. This will include mass actions, mobs, fads, panics, strikes, riots, war, and other miscellaneous situations arising from "Providence" and unforeseen physical and social upheavals, for which the individual and the group must be prepared.

In Common Law and Life. In law and business, society has taken cognizance of things beyond ordinary control through special clauses, exemptions, and restrictions. "Acts of God," variously interpreted, are exempt from human liability. Insurance companies set restrictions on participation in war and certain types of hazardous occupations which are subject to natural dangers. Substitutes for the control of nature are provided for in rain, storm, and other types of insurance against damage done by the elements. These and many other methods by which man adapts himself to the unknown forces of nature and society are objective ways of recognizing their reality. Crises of varying sorts

are constantly calling upon the individual and upon society to exert the utmost of capacity to meet new and difficult situations. Although, of course, many crises concerned with health, accidents, mobs, war, have their backgrounds in concrete social conditions, their sudden appearance takes on an aspect of emergency and the unexpected. Thus we speak of human good fortune and bad luck, and we find many of the causes of poverty, disease, crime, distress in the failure of society to handle certain matters of social incidence. Likewise, the significance of casual groups, as Professor Giddings puts it, is of great importance in the scientific study of social problems.

Social Rhythm and Cycles. Professor Ellsworth Huntington, in his *The Pulse of Progress*, ranks rhythm, pulsations, and cycles as essential in the law of organic life. Although his contention is that these rhythms are referable to law, those features of them that are due to unknown and uncontrolled phenomena of nature and mass action reveal a large section of our ignorance and our lack of intelligent adaptation. In the animal world there is great variation in life because of natural incidence. A good year for tall, thick grass results in a large and healthy population of grass-eating animals and therefore in less depredations upon man by the carniverous animals. A drought and poor crops would have the opposite effects. Professor Huntington points out that "among animals the cycles regularly have essentially the same form; a few hardy individuals to begin with—survivors of the preceding cycle; then abundant food, large families, few enemies, good health, and rapid increase in numbers; next pressure upon the food supply, poorer health, more enemies because the enemies, whether visible or invisible, have flourished by reason of abundant food; then pestilence, migration, the wiping out of vast numbers, and a low birth rate because the creatures are not strong."

Economic Cycles. It is generally conceded, of course, that the same law of rhythm applies largely to human beings. Perhaps the most commonly recognized and studied instance of it is the economic cycle. Social aspects of the business cycle have been made the basis for one of the most successful attempts to measure social phenomena in objective terms. Thus the pulsations and cycles of business conditions, as affected not only by the great physical factors enumerated but by increase in production, change

in income, variation in wages, price levels and many other phases of economic life have resulted in wholesale prosperity and depression and in the making and losing of many individual fortunes. Professor Huntington has called attention to the influence of nature upon such business cycles. He says: "Almost every one is familiar with the cycles of business which reach their zenith in times of great prosperity, high prices, abundant work, and great expansion, and then fall to a nadir of depression, deflation, scanty work, low prices, general discouragement, and even financial panic. The causes and mechanism of periods of depression and of panic have been discussed most voluminously, and there is still a wide diversity of opinion. Nevertheless, it is almost universally agreed that poor crops are at least an important contributing element. Poor crops of course are usually the result of deficient rainfall."

Theory of the Business Cycle. The tendency of men to ignore causes has been mentioned. Similar to this is man's failure to recognize the normality and consistency of the process of cause and effect operating in business cycles. Says Wesley C. Mitchell, "A crisis is expected to be followed by a depression, the depression by a revival, the revival by prosperity, and prosperity by a new crisis." Following in general Mitchell's theory of business cycles, the process may be traced as follows, starting with a period of depression. At the beginning of such a period of depression business concerns and industrial plants usually have surplus supplies on hand, which they utilize as long as possible in preference to replenishing their stock. Finally, however, their stock becomes so depleted that it must be replenished, and then begins a gradual increase of buying which grows accumulatively. An increase in commodities purchased from the merchant will increase his willingness to place orders for more goods. Then comes an increase in volume of trade which gives a general spirit of optimism in the business world, and this optimism in turn will give fresh impetus to increased trade. Along with a greater volume of trade will come increased prices and a rush of orders as the business man attempts to place his orders before prices go higher. The increased profits lead to heavy investments. At the same time that these factors are increasing prosperity they are also bringing an accumulation of "stresses." The first is an increase in cost of doing business brought on by an increase in overhead costs per unit of output

because of high rate of interest, rents, and salaries. Efficiency of labor declines because of overtime work and the bringing in of less efficient workers, prices of raw materials increase and numerous small wastes are incurred in the rush of orders. The second stress is the "accumulating tension of the investment and money markets." With the increased borrowing, lenders complain of the "scarcity of capital" and banking loan funds fall behind the demand. Credits expand and the mass of debts grows accumulatively. Cautious creditors become suspicious and refuse further loans, and soon there begins liquidation of the piled-up credits. Liquidation, once started, spreads to other firms and there is general alarm in the business world. Instead of pushing sales, the business man concentrates upon securing his financial resources and maintaining solvency. Business falls off, discount rates rise, labor is reduced and so the period of prosperity has been converted into a crisis. Then again comes a period of depression characterized by contraction in volume of trade, small investments, low prices, and reduction of the margin of profit. At each stage of the cycle the process is accumulative, for a reduction of the price of one commodity causes a reduction of another, which in turn causes other reductions and still others in succession. The business cycle is "recurrent," a continually changing and dynamic process where one stage consistently leads to the next, and so on in consecutive order.

Social Aspects of the Business Cycle. Other studies have been made to point out the correlation between the business cycle and social situations. Thus the student of social problems must not only understand some of the causes of variations in the business life of society from year to year, but he must know something about their effects. In this way society may set itself to the task of preventing the evil day and of minimizing social results. Dr. Dorothy Swaine Thomas, in her new volume on *Social Aspects of the Business Cycle*, following Mitchell, Ogburn, and others, has made excellent studies of the business cycle in relation to marriages, births, deaths, pauperism, alcoholism, crime, emigration. Important correlations of business conditions have been made in matters of marriage, divorce, prostitution, illegitimacy, infant mortality, the birth rate, the death rate, suicide, crimes against property, crimes against morals, and other important social fac-

tors. Miss Thomas concludes that "it is evident that the business cycle by influencing directly a few social phenomena may cause 'repercussions' in various other spheres of social activity." Hence she recognizes that responsibility for certain types of conduct should rightly be laid upon the groups instead of upon the individual. There is great need for students of social problems to go further into this whole matter.

Popular Implications. It is possible that if the average citizen, farmer, merchant, or even professional man and industrial worker, knew something of the facts of the business cycle, the greater part of the suffering which usually follows a period of prosperity would be avoided. In order to understand the extent to which social phenomena are affected, it is necessary only to make a case study of a few thousand average folks. The farmer, enthusiastic over the value of his products and the high price of land, mortgages the land which he has to buy still other acres; perhaps he loses all in the crash that follows. The salaried man pushes his resources to the limit and spends his money freely with the feeling that there is much more to come. The laborer extends his credit in the multiplication of comforts and pleasures. The prosperous business man invests heavily, forsaking the even tenor of his ways. Children and family are freed from the wholesome disciplines of work and thrift. New business concerns spring up, stock companies are formed, expansion and development have their day. The crash comes. There is slowing down of normal processes,—then stress, crisis, social maladjustment.

Crowds and Mobs. Crowd behavior is manifested as a high degree of suggestibility and unreason in the mob. Here there is neither individual nor group responsibility but an abandon to emotional upheaval and frenzied action unamenable to reason. A sensational rumor played upon by the exaggerating propensity of the mass can in a moment convert a crowd into a storming and frantic mob. It was the mob spirit which condemned and burned witches of former days; it was the mob spirit which persecuted the religious martyrs of the early Christian era and middle ages; it was this same spirit which at times suddenly turned the fury of the Russian populace upon the Jews in their midst and caused the atrocious *pogroms* which have been a blot upon Russian history. It is this same spirit which prompts an army after storming

and capturing a town or village to burn homes, mutilate or ravage women and children and commit other atrocities not in keeping with rational conduct. The mob spirit dominates the hooded Ku Klux Klan of to-day. In the last three-quarters of a century one of the most flagrant forms of mob action and one which has demanded the attention and concern of the United States has been that of lynching. Here is found frenzied action and irrational conduct of a most violent form. Though originating in the West, lynchings have been more prevalent in the South than in any other section of the country. Here they have been to a large extent directed against Negroes who have committed offenses against white people, chief of which has supposedly been the rape of women, although statistics show that such cases constitute less than one-fourth of the total. It is encouraging to note the steady decrease in lynching in recent years. According to statistics quoted by Dowd there was a total of sixteen lynchings in the United States in 1924 as contrasted with 184 of the year 1885, although the record for 1926 was less encouraging, the number increasing to thirty-four. As a step toward the stamping out of this evil, in recent years several southern states have passed special legislation, and concerted action against the practice has come from other quarters, culminating in 1922 in the proposal of a federal antilynching law.

Riots and Mass Excitement. The riot, another manifestation of the mob spirit, often arises from a single conflict or clash between individuals of different races which comes to involve whole sections or cities. The Chicago riot of 1919 arose from a clash on the beach, involving stone-throwing, the drowning of a Negro boy, and the alleged refusal of a policeman to arrest the suspected white murderer of the boy. Then followed a general race riot: people were murdered, stabbed, and beaten; trolleys were pulled from the wires; occupants were dragged from the cars; automobiles were riddled with bullets; homes were burned; property was destroyed. Other destructive race riots were those occurring in St. Louis in May and July, 1917, which arose over labor disputes and the bringing in of Negro strike breakers. Quoting from Dowd, *The Negro in American Life*, "Negro men were stabbed and hanged from telephone poles. Their homes were burned. In the Negro area there were 312 houses totally or partially destroyed.

Women and children were not spared. . . . About thirty-nine Negroes and eight white people were killed and hundreds of both races more or less seriously injured, and the property loss was about $393,600." Many other riots between the two races have occurred, notable among which have been the Atlanta riot of 1906 in which both whites and Negroes were killed and injured. The Tulsa riot of 1921 "resulted in the killing of about ten whites and twenty-one Negroes and burning of a whole section of Negro residences." A notable riot which did not involve race conflict was that of the Wheatland hop pickers in August, 1913, and investigated by Carleton Parker. He gives as the causes of the conflict "the irritation over the wage scale, the absence of water in the fields, plus the persistent heat and the increasing indignity suffered by the camp, had resulted in mass meetings, violent talks and a general strike." Accordingly, the ranch owner called a posse which arrived just as a mass meeting of the pickers was in progress. "To sober them," the officer fired a shotgun over the heads of the crowd, and a riot ensued. "Four men were killed, two of the posse and two of the strikers, the posse fled in their automobiles to the county seat, and all that night the roads out of Wheatland were filled with pickers leaving the camp."

Manias and Crazes. Manias and crazes develop through a process of social contagion. There is intense excitement and a high degree of suggestibility which irresistibly spreads to the entire mass. Says E. A. Ross, in *Social Psychology*, "For the *craze* there must be an excitant, overcoming so many people that these can affect the rest by mere volume of suggestion. This first orientation may be produced by some striking event or incident. The murder of a leader, an insult to an ambassador, the predictions of a crazy fanatic . . . , each of these has been the starting point of some fever, mania, crusade, uprising, boom, panic, delusion or fright." A notable example of one of these crazes or manias was the Children's Crusade of the thirteenth century when children were drawn irresistibly from all quarters to go in search of the Holy Sepulcher and all attempts to restrain them were futile. The Women's Crusade of 1873 when the women of Hillsborough, Ohio, were seized with the fanatical purpose of destroying saloons by besieging them with much praying and petitioning; the fanatical obsessions of the followers of William Miller in 1840

when they had been assured by their leader of the date of the end of the world; the "Great Fear" which pervaded France in 1789 when all men were obsessed with fear, but fear of what they knew not,—these represent forms of manias or crazes. Mr. Ross also tells of the unique "tulip mania" of the Dutch in 1634, when in all quarters there was a sudden development of the tulip industry to the neglect of all others, and tulips became "as precious as diamonds." Another outstanding example was the dancing mania of about the year 1370, when a craze for dancing spread throughout various European cities. Social contagion was so great that spectators were drawn irresistibly into the seething mass of revelers, and the dancing went on to the neglect and complete forgetfulness of all else until the participants fell in utter exhaustion. In religious revivals there have at times operated similar processes of suggestion and contagion, such as the jumping mania prevalent in Welsh revivals during 1742 and the frenzied and hysterical laughter of the notorious Kentucky revivals. In a Lancashire cotton factory in 1787 a girl was thrown into convulsions from being frightened by a mouse and the contagion of the convulsive behavior was so great that the mill had to be shut down for a time.

General Panics. "The panic is the crudest and simplest example of collective mental life," says William McDougall. "Groups of gregarious animals are liable to panic; and the panic of a crowd of human beings seems to be generated by the same simple instinctive reactions as the panic of animals." It is this overwhelming fear which will cause the stampede in a burning building, will increase the difficulty of rescue from a sinking vessel, or will incapacitate a crowd for rational action when confronted with a threatened or impending danger. The characteristic action of a terrified crowd is well described in Bogardus' account of the Iroquois Theater fire in Chicago. "The cry of 'Fire' sent a multitude of people toward the wholly inadequate exits and individuals piled up, tramping down and smothering those beneath to death. The desire for security caused otherwise considerate men to climb over helpless women and children until the exits became blocked with jumbled and dying humanity."

Financial Panics. The term panic when applied to the economic or financial situation also involves an overpowering fear,

but in this case it is a fear of financial disaster and insecurity. To quote from T. E. Burton's *Financial Crises*, "The term *panic* correctly describes the prevalent disposition during a *brief period* in which the real situation, serious perhaps, is made much worse by the general excitement and alarm." Wesley Mitchell comments upon the tendency of the business man to attribute the panic to an abnormal cause or "some foolish blunder made by the public or the government," as typified by current phrases such as "The Jay Cooke panic" of 1873, "The railroad panic" of 1884, "The Cleveland panic" of 1893, "the Roosevelt panic" of 1907. The panic occurs during the peak of a crisis in the business cycle when there is an undue depletion of money in circulation. At such times the demands for loans are far in excess of the available supply of currency, and at the same time there is a drain upon the banks for payment of deposits. Lenders, fearing the insolvency of the borrowers, refuse loans at any price and a financial panic ensues. A study of critical periods in the financial history of the United States will reveal severe panics in the years 1837, 1857, 1873, 1893, and 1907. The panic as distinguished from the crisis is psychological, involving undue fear, exaggerated statement of conditions and hasty generalizations. Says Mr. Burton, "The former (the panic) refers more properly to a mental state; the latter (the crisis) to an actual, existing condition. Upon reflection a *panic* may disappear; but a *crisis* remains." He quotes from Professor Sumner, "It (the panic) is a wave of emotion, apprehension, alarm. . . . It is superinduced upon a crisis, which is real and inevitable; but it exaggerates, conjures up possibilities, takes away courage and energy."

Strikes. The problem of the readjustment of life and labor as between employer and employee has been mentioned. The strike is the culmination of a conflict in this field. A survey of the more significant strikes which have occurred within recent years will show the frequency and prevalence of this weapon of the employees. The question of wages and length of working day is often involved, as exemplified in such strikes as those of the motormen, switchmen, and power-house men of the Interborough Rapid Transit Company of New York, in 1926, the railroad strike of 1922, the steel strike of 1919 involving 300,000 workers, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' strike of New York, and

the strike of the United Mine Workers of West Virginia and Southwestern Pennsylvania in 1924. A recent strike which has attracted world-wide attention has been the British coal strike, arising from the demands of the employers for reduction of wages and increase of hours. The miners, considering that they were being asked to accept wages below the minimum of subsistence, refused to accept the owners' terms, and accordingly, on the night of April 30, 1926, the lockout of a million workers occurred. This was followed on May 3 by a general strike declared by the Trades Union Congress as evidence of their support of the miners. Though the general strike was called off on May 12, the situation among the miners was not so easily handled. A unique strike of recent years was the struggle between the International Tailoring Company and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers in 1925, which Mr. Bruère characterizes in *The Survey* as "a strike against strikes." The Amalgamated Clothing Workers, including the largest firms in various clothing centers, has always stood for impartial arbitration of disputes and the avoidance of strikes. Therefore, when the International Tailoring Company withdrew in order to set up an open shop, concerted action was directed against it for nineteen weeks by the Amalgamated organization in their efforts to maintain impartial machinery.

Natural Forces and Crisis. Business depression may not, however, extend uniformly throughout large areas. In the United States in recent years the South has been particularly hard hit by a series of situations for which it was not prepared. First, the boll weevil, migrating from the Mexican fields, struck deep into the whole cotton-raising industry, and therefore at the financial basis of the South's prosperity. This in turn, bringing on poverty and hardships, was followed by a revolution in types of farming in the South. A single county in Georgia, with a normal production of more than fifteen thousand bales of cotton, slumped to less than one thousand. Then followed drought for two seasons,—and more hardships. Then came overplanting of cotton, the retreat of the boll weevil, the coming of good seasons, and overproduction,—and hardship again because of the low prices. This concrete illustration will suffice to show with what sweep the unexpected turn of circumstances may affect the whole social and economic fabric of a people. Other illustrations may be found in the agricultural areas of the West

and in the manufacturing textile centers of the East and South. In a larger way, of course, the wheat crop of Russia and other countries determines much of the social and economic conditions of whole areas over long periods of time.

Earthquake, Storm, and Flood. Recent discussions of the dangers of earthquakes in large cities have brought vividly to mind their challenge to the civil and social engineer. Indeed, much money is available and experiments are being made to enable society to protect itself from these upheavals of nature. Remedies include not only the more scientific planning and construction of buildings and public utilities, but also the more complicated features of social planning and regional distribution of the population. Likewise the two severe storms in August and September, 1926, which swept across Florida and some of the near-by islands, and the Mississippi River floods of 1927, are examples of what vast havoc nature may work upon man and his hapless mode of living. Excitement, depression, and suffering follow. After these come relief, recuperation, rejuvenated energies, and rebuilding. Out of all these grow agitations for better types of buildings, better protection from wave and wind, and various experiments in community work. Mid-western cyclones sweep across prosperous dwellings, factories, and farms and leave a trail of destruction and broken homes. Then the national Red Cross relief, national sympathy, rebuilding, and the new will to conquer. In the same way many other catastrophies of nature might be mentioned to illustrate their importance in the cycle of man's activities.

Disaster Relief and Social Problems. The record of the American Red Cross, through its Division of Disaster Relief, affords the best opportunity for the study of disaster in relation to social work and social problems. In a recent article in *The Family*, Mr. James L. Fieser calls attention to the fact that in 1906 the American Red Cross dealt with the San Francisco disaster only, whereas in 1925 it rendered relief to sixty-one disasters in the United States alone. He calls attention to some of the factors involved: "The growth of cities, increasing density of population, the march of industry, the encroachment of bridges and made land upon our inland rivers and streams, new fire hazards, absence of river control, and many other factors have played their part in spreading disaster

hazard. Alongside this probable increase of risk we should, however, place an increased sense of social responsibility for the weaker members of society, whether his weakness is the result of individual or group shock." The Missouri-Illinois-Indiana tornado of March, 1925, was cited as a typical example:

> Many cities and towns and an immense rural section within these states were swept by the tornado. It stretched across an area four hundred miles long, left tens of thousands temporarily impoverished, and involved medical care for three thousand men, women, and children who were injured often many miles from modern medical and hospital resources. Two or three thousand farm houses were demolished. Farm buildings, fences, trees, live stock, feed crops and farm machinery (the heart of the earning power of the farmer) were destroyed. Over three million dollars were spent in relief on this one disaster.

The Galveston Flood and City Government. One of the most vivid illustrations of how society may come to utilize disaster for its better order is found in the development of municipal government since the Galveston flood in 1900. So great was the destruction by wind and wave that a demoralized and broken city found itself without leadership or guidance. Emergency committee work was so effective that out of it grew the beginnings of the commission form of city government in America. From the commission form, adopted in other places, came efforts to improve upon its organization, and out of this grew the city manager form. The commission form of government, the city manager plan, the combination of city manager and commission, and other varied adaptations have wrought great improvement in the whole fabric of American city government. In the meantime the City of Galveston readjusted itself, built up new forms of protection, established order and organization, and typified, in its rebuilding, the pioneer spirit of America. In much the same way great disasters from fire have caused society to evolve new preventive measures. The sinkings of ships on the high seas have startled the nations into more precautions and better shipbuilding. Thus accidents may be utilized by society not only to increase its knowledge of man and nature but also to lessen its dangers and its ills.

Casual Groups and Meetings. Professor Giddings has observed the importance of casual groups to sociologists, social workers, and social psychologists. He points out that they are great in

number and variety and that they offer data of exceptional value. Studying a hundred miscellaneous assemblages, he finds among them groups that are like-minded and groups that are not like-minded. They differ in race and individuality, in occupations, and in religion. He calls attention to contacts in college and university groups assembled as incidents and by-products of certain common interests. He calls attention to school and neighborhood, to changes in residence, and to the varied opportunities for social incidence and casual groupings. Any student of social problems might verify the importance of these casual meetings by taking a census of his class or of his acquaintances and thereby finding out to what extent many of the greater events in their lives have been closely correlated with casual meetings and groups or with social incidence. This is not to say, of course, that these groups do not exhibit the working of definite causes and effects, but it is a challenge to the student to see to what extent the individual and society may take good advantage of all situations which may flood on the everyday tide of fortune or of disaster.

Chance and Opportunity. The study of biography emphasizes, sometimes in startling examples, how casual happenings or "accidents" may change the whole course of an individual's life, and how he in turn may affect many others. A Roosevelt thrown into the White House through the sudden death of McKinley becomes the arch type of American strenuosity. A subordinate in the ranks of army or industry, suddenly called upon to meet an emergency, with decisive action measures up to his task and thereafter remains a leader of men. Or the bullet of an assassin in Europe sets the world aflame with war. By the first example we are reminded that society may constantly be letting its leaders remain undeveloped because of lack of opportunity. By the last instance we are challenged to see that society does not become stampeded for lack of organization and self-control. Says Professor Giddings further:

> A strictly new or original societal group is normally, and perhaps, if we look closely enough always a casual, that is to say, an accidental or otherwise fortuitous group. Its human units find themselves arriving in one place by luck of alluring occasion or opportunity, or because of misfortune or disaster which has driven them from homes or haunts elsewhere. A young man and a young woman attractive to each other

meet casually at a neighbour's, a house-party, or a dance, fall in love and marry. A family and a household group result, and perhaps a kinship group which lives on through many generations. Three or four young men meet by chance and are drawn to each other. They become companions. After a while it may happen that other men are taken into the comradeship, and they become a fraternity; or, discovering that they have a common interest, they found an association, or sodality, so named from the Latin *sodalis*, a mate. A multitude of individuals attracted by a spectacle, a speaker, or perhaps nothing more substantial than a rumour, assemble as a curious crowd; or, infuriated by a crime or other intolerable wrong, or perhaps only by instigation or obsession, they converge in the sinister solidarity of a mob. From far and near home seekers and adventurers invade a region only now made accessible or in which tempting resources have only now been discovered. Many remain, others come, and together they become a community. More often than not casual groups have little cohesion and soon break up. Acquaintance groups, crowds, mobs and conventions fall within this category. Other groups, casual at first, develop cohesion and become self-continuing. In this category are families, households, kindreds, villages, larger communities, and nations; also fraternities, religious sects, partnerships, trading companies, labour unions, corporations, and political parties.

Mass Mind and Movements. One of the chief products resulting from most crises is the setting up in the crowd of emotional processes and tensions which generally lead to lack of control and unwise action. Thus in times of excitement and stress rumors run wild, exaggerated stories multiply, normal-minded folk become abnormal. One of the most important tasks of society is to be prepared in times of stress and to set up sane leadership of the group rather than excited leadership by the impetuous. Professor Ross, in his *Roads to Social Peace*, has expressed this need admirably:

> In every society, in times of stress or alarm, there crop up men whose temperament, upbringing, or personal experience is such that they become wrought-up over this and that unlikeness and cry out that the nation or the race is headed for ruin if a certain element be tolerated. Such are the fanatics, bigots, inquisitors, fire-brands, stormy petrels, alarmists, demagogues, for-God's-sake-ers, bunk-shooters, and finders of mare's nests, who spread incendiary lies about the Mormons, the Free Masons, the Catholics, the Negroes, Wall Street, organized labor, the foreign-born, the "reds," the liberal professors of economics, the social

workers, the teachers of evolution. Men of breadth and balance should be at all times ready to "go to the mat" with these.

Modern Revival of Intolerance. Within the early years after the World War there has been revived in this country a spirit of intolerance which assumes the proportions of a mass drive. This spirit has been directed against various forms of progress and truth. Perhaps its most clearly marked form has been the widespread movement of the fundamentalists against the teaching of evolution. Many bills have been introduced into legislatures to prevent the teaching of evolution in state-owned schools, and large religious bodies have gone on record against modern liberalistic teachings. The tendency of the churches to bring into politics their own concept of right and wrong has assumed the form of a crusade, especially in parts of the Southern States. Professor Mecklin has quoted their action as having "a tone of aggressive holiness, a tang of moral ruthlessness and haughty intolerance that makes one wonder whether we are not to find within orthodox Protestantism some of the most unlovely and at the same time unchristian phases of modern life." Similar wholesale accusations and drives have been attempted in the fields of economics and politics against efforts for liberalizing modern industrial relations and political rights. These movements have expressed themselves in a general hatred and fear of so-called "red" or "radical" teachings. Perhaps the most notable example of these psychic phenomena was the Ku Klux Klan which, starting in a small way in Atlanta, swept through the country, having for a short time large influence in many parts of the country. The study of such social currents and waves constitutes one of the most difficult of our social problems.

Migrations and Fads. Unusually interesting and profitable social phenomena to study are found in the mass migrations of populations which arise now and again from certain combinations of natural forces and crowd psychology. Like other situations of social incidence, they result in stress, conflict, tragedy, as well as success, achievement, frontier work. The westward trek for gold was America's most notable earlier example. The southward migration of population to Florida in 1925 and 1926 is America's latest and most sensational instance. In the Florida rush thousands of individuals, ordinary citizens and investors, as well as

adventurers, poured headlong into the new situation, impelled by some social force seemingly irresistible and inexplicable. Trains were crowded, highways packed, and the gateways to the South were not capable of admitting the hordes of new citizens and investors. Thousands of school teachers and professional folk invested their savings not only in the hope but in the actual belief that they would soon become rich. Remarkable cases of advertising, publicity, of organization methods in finance and selling were abundant. The task still remains for some student of social currents to make a careful study and appraisal of this event in American life.

After-Effects of Depression and War. We have referred already to the change of life and work in the South and West due to certain handicaps of nature resulting in poor crops and consequent depression. Closely correlated with these "hard times" will often be found unsocial or anti-social conduct, such as mob action against the Negro, the rise of the Ku Klux Klan, class conflict, and general unrest. Indeed, the student may plot very constant curves of correlation between hard times and depression on the one hand and injustice towards unfortunate groups on the other; although, on the contrary, he may find occasionally in hard times a rising curve of religion and the outward manifestation of righteousness. Similar conditions have been noted as a result of the World War. In general, the after-effects of war are measured in terms of many social irregularities such as conflict with old customs, license in personal and group affairs, and the whole process of settling down. In the United States in general there were mass excitement and fear of the radicals; there was reaction from the ideals of international brotherhood; and there was conservatism in abundance. In the South there was reaction against the Negro who, having been abroad in the army, was thought to be a new and dangerous element in the white South. There were other factors in the West, and the Ku Klux Klan, starting in the South, permeated the whole nation; while extremists endangered free speech in the act of abusing it.

War and Pestilence. Other unforeseen effects of war upon society are many. There is always the haste and excitement, the letting down of standards of various sorts, the increase of social and physical diseases. Of particularly striking significance is

the danger from epidemics of various kinds. During the World War, although medicine had accomplished wonders in its preventive methods, society was for a time helpless against the quick death wrought everywhere by influenza. At home and abroad, in camp and in field, this unmastered pestilence swept its thousands and tens of thousands of young and old alike into hurriedly made graves. The destiny of individuals, families, communities was changed in the twinkling of an eye by circumstances unforeseen. Since that time medicine and society have set themselves to the task of preventing a recurrence if possible, but the threat still remains as another stern warning to the world to stop war.

Other Results of War. In this chapter we are discussing those results of war which come as unexpected afflictions upon society. In the next chapter we shall discuss war and peace as they touch problems of international relationship and good will. While no one has been able to measure the tragedies of war, there is ample evidence to convince any student of society of its unreasonableness and of its tragic drain upon humanity. Millions of the best men cut down in their prime, other millions maimed and broken for life; broken homes; widowed and unmarried women; starved childhood; and thousands of unborn children of the best stock—all these bear incontrovertible testimony to the barbarity of war. The course of nations, the happiness and prosperity of peoples, the destiny of civilizations have always been tied up with the fortunes of war. To this very day the same, unfortunately, must be true. Whether society can conquer this mass influence, this inherited type of conflict, and be able to gauge its conduct without the fear of war must remain one of the chief questions for the student of social problems.

Primary Conflict and Social Control. It is said again and again that war must continue so long as human nature is as it is. In the old days they said that dueling must always remain a sanctioned institution so long as human nature prompted men to fight. The dueling habit constituted one of the great hazards of life. A happy family to-day, with plans for work and prosperity, became to-morrow a widowed mother and fatherless children. Honor and custom had demanded it. And yet to-day dueling has been outlawed and with great unanimity and success. War represents a much greater hazard, with a much more unreasonable

basis for conflict, and challenges the best that social study and leadership can do to take it out of the catalogue of forces which must catch society ever and anon in their unexpected clutches. Thus will war and its stark death, once considered inevitable and as acts of divine Providence, become mastered by the great advance of humanity.

The Prevention of War. If, however, society is to erase war from the list of social phenomena held to be beyond normal calculation and control, it must be done through more than mere sentiment and idealism. In other words, it must be done through careful study, scientific method, and social statesmanship. In the next chapter some of the obligations of the nations and international agencies to stop war will be discussed. We may conclude this chapter with the verdict of Baker-Crothers and Hudnut, in their *Problems of Citizenship:* "World peace is as possible of attainment as national peace. Self-control, sacrifice, desire, and compulsion can effectively prevent further wars. One of the first moves toward this end should be a national housecleaning. The nations must solve the economic, political, and social problems that breed discontent and produce revolution and international war. In addition they must be willing to adopt the measures that are essential to world peace. Halfway measures will not suffice. Nations and individuals must be imbued with the determination to go all the way even if this way means radical changes and the replacement of nationalism by internationalism." This problem will be studied in other aspects in the next chapter dealing with international affairs.

FOR FURTHER STUDY

For Information

1. What is meant by the term "social incidence"?
2. Outline the process operating in the business cycle.
3. What are some of the social consequences of the strike?
4. Give examples of the mob spirit.
5. What is the social significance of the casual group?

For Stimulating Thought

6. Read Morton Prince's account of the Halifax disaster. What is its social significance?

7. Is social incidence, through new crises, increasing as society becomes more complex?
8. According to the theory of the recurrent business cycle are business conditions in this country advancing toward a period of depression or of prosperity?
9. What are remedies for mob action?
10. How has the present-day warfare against certain scientific teaching partaken of the spirit of mob and mass action?

For Research and Creative Writing

11. Make a list of American fads and crazes.
12. Give concrete cases of destructive after-effects of feud or mob.
13. Write the story of individuals whose careers have been altered by casual incidence.
14. Describe social relief work after a disaster, fire, flood, storm.
15. Cite instances of business collapse growing out of a disregard of the law operating in business cycles.

For Practical Application

16. What safety devices and measures have been due to disaster?
17. Give examples of leaders who have been "made" by chance circumstances.
18. Show how man's propensity for fads and crazes can be directed into productive channels.
19. Draw up a program whereby the danger of strikes may be minimized.
20. Illustrate business failures due to whim or fashion.

For Continuity of Effort

21. Write the story of the Red Cross's contribution to disaster relief.
22. Show how modern methods of journalism may accentuate mass mindedness.
23. What national or local agitation has been directed against mob action?
24. Make a list of recent national or local organizations whose success must depend upon building up a mass following.

25. Describe proposed methods of combating the flood waters of the Mississippi.

For Effective Reading

26. For special study: Any good *Biography*, Sorokin's *The Sociology of Revolution*, Ross's *Roads to Social Peace*, Martin's *Psychology of Crowds*, Thomas' *Social Aspects of the Business Cycle*.
27. For sampling or exhaustive reading: Bernard, Custance, Giddings, LeBon, Lee, G. S., Lowell, McDougall, Maezter, Martin, E. D., Sorokin, Swinton, Taylor, J. L., Thomas, M. M., Tolstoy, Trotter, Williams, J. M., Burton.

CHAPTER X

INTERNATIONAL, NATIONAL, AND REGIONAL PROBLEMS

Modern International and Regional Problems. From the study of the last two chapters it is clear that place, regions, territorial divisions, and kindred areas constitute important backgrounds of social problems as well as concrete media through which various social forces act. We have seen how the physical environment plays an important part in society and culture, how the economic and political institutions are affected, how "the region which nurtures man is endowed by him with psychological significance." We have seen also how war and conflict are closely linked up with the same influences and situations. We now come to the further study of larger group relationships as found in international situations and what Professor Turner has called "Regions and Nations." We have already referred to the conflict between the western civilization with its machine tendencies and the eastern civilizations with their opposing influences. We come now to review briefly the backgrounds of modern social problems which are found in international relations, in national character and influences, and in regional and sectional situations within our own American nation. Such a review will be necessary, not only for the purpose of enumerating actual national and regional problems but also for the very practical means of throwing light on the institutional problems which are to be studied in later chapters.

America and Regional Influences. In the general effect of geography and physical environment upon character and culture America appears to be poorer than most other nations. In his introduction to Mukerjee's *Regional Sociology*, Professor E. A. Ross says: "I suppose no large population shows so faint and doubtful a response to region as we Americans. Never before were folk of forest or valley, of sea or river delta, so little insulated. Our education, reading matter, films, sports, standardized ar-

ticles of consumption, religious denominations, trade and professional unions, political parties and common institutions pull us into a national plane, or at least a sectional plane. We take no sharp imprint from the geographical niche we live and work in. All the more, then, should we realize that the bulk of mankind are creatures of Place and have other needs and tastes than we." On the other hand, America so stands out for its "American" ideals and for its sectional distinctions and conflicts that no survey of its social problems can be made without taking into account its geography. Nor can America any longer adhere rigidly to its earlier policies of isolation, as may be seen from increasing evidences on all sides.

America's Changing Policies. In his *Foreign Policies of the United States*, Professor Dealey has discussed the development of changing policies of the United States from 1776 to 1925. He reviews our national policies, follows the territorial expansion of the United States, analyzes some of its geographic, climatic, and economic conditions, and discusses racial factors and immigration. He traces the formulation of policies on the background of political and social idealism and calls America to meet the test of modern international morality. Of special importance is the changing attitude of America towards Europe in general, towards Latin America, and towards the Far East. Professor Dealey summarizes his challenge to America in the following paragraph:

> On July 4, 1926, the United States began the second half of its second century, and during the fifty years it will presumably assume leadership in the world of states. With its fleet it will preserve the peace of the Americas and of the Pacific; through its capital it will finance much of the world's business; and through the energy and capacity of its citizens it will be in contact with the world's work. For the successful accomplishment of these tasks it needs intelligent, far-sighted policies based on a scientific appreciation of the many involved situations in world politics. It has its Pan-American problems, but toward these it has well-defined policies and a powerful organization of kindred states through which it may work—the Pan-American Union. Within the last twenty-five years it has definitely faced to the Pacific and already sees in embryo, as in the Washington Conference, an association of the states of this region, an association which some day will be made up of those only whose home lands are on the Pacific. The World War brought the United States to economic and financial leadership among the states of Western civiliza-

tion. In the Western Hemisphere already there is established a world association, or League of Nations, partly political in its functions at present, but one that increasingly will voice the other interests of nations —economic, sanitary, intellectual, moral, and æsthetic. Whether the United States formally joins this League immediately is in one sense a matter of indifference. It must coöperate, however, with the League in all non-political matters, because its interests will make such contact inevitable. Thus there are at present in tangible form three great associations of nations: The Pan-American Union, a Pacific entente, and the League of Nations. In each and all of these the United States has its interests and through geographic position and power is becoming a sort of connecting link between the nations. From these associations in due time should come the peace of the Americas and of the Pacific, the peace of the eastern continent, and, ultimately, that 'world federation' of poetic imagination.

International Relations. Experiences of America during the recent World War emphasize the difficulties of abiding by the old American policy of isolation. For the most part, the United States since the days of Washington has followed the policy of non-interference in the affairs of Europe, and she has expected the nations of Europe not to interfere with the new American nations. It has been generally conceded that this policy has often served as a means of preserving peaceful relations with other nations. The Monroe Doctrine, which has prevented any European power from entrenching itself in America, has permitted experiments in democracy. The United States now comes to face its larger problems of international relations. It must ask itself whether the Monroe Doctrine is still effective and still needed. It must ask itself how, in the face of economic, racial, political, religious, and social alliances and relationships, it can best maintain its national character and progress in the midst of satisfactory international adjustments. To understand something of its problem we may look briefly at the subject of international relations from several viewpoints. The first concerns the larger spirit of international community. Another concerns the prevention of war and the promotion of peace. Still another considers government and diplomacy. Other important relationships are involved in religious and missionary efforts, in social idealism, and in the general advancement of world-wide social organization and brotherhood.

The League of Nations. The most outstanding example of the modern effort to join the world into a community of nations is the *League of Nations* which includes practically all the world family except Turkey, Russia, Mexico, and the United States, Germany having been admitted during the fall of 1926. Briefly, the League of Nations was set up as an agency through which the growing coöperative activities of international society might function. It was to be a sort of clearing house for the formulation of progressive policies in general government, finance, economics, communication, labor legislation, health, morals, and general public welfare. Other functions include supervision of mandates to protect weaker peoples, umpiring in political disputes between nations, adjudicating controversies through the permanent Court of International Justice, and the general improvement of international administration. The League of Nations is of particular interest to the United States, since the modern form of the League was initiated by President Woodrow Wilson. The United States in 1927, however, is still waiting further proofs of the League's value to herself before formally joining this effort towards world community.

The Study of International Relations. An important index to the growing movement for world community may be found in the intellectual efforts being put forth on its behalf. The extent to which international relations now constitute a major subject of study may be seen by noting the courses given under this subject in our larger universities and through an analysis of the national and international efforts being made to promote international good will. In a single university, the University of Chicago, no less than 112 courses are offered in the general field of "international relations." These courses are classified under six general heads: international law and organization; world politics and diplomacy; international economic and social relations; contemporary governments and civilizations; geography; philosophy, education, and religion. They deal specifically with the United States, other American countries, Europe, the Near East, Asia, the Far East, Malaysia, the Pacific, and Africa. The annual Williamstown Institute of Politics which has for a number of years brought eminent authorities from Europe and America together, is active in the same cause; while many similar smaller conferences

are being planned. It is estimated that the Carnegie Foundation's studies and researches will aggregate more than three hundred volumes. Other foundations such as the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial, the Guggenheim Foundation, the Commonwealth Fund, are promoting international study and good will through various exchange relationships and fellowships.

World Community. After all, the fundamental problem involved in the final adjustment of international affairs is that of the spirit and essence of world community. Many centuries ago the principle of world brotherhood was set forth in the Christian gospel, whose new conception of neighborhood provided for the ultimate participation of the whole world. Hughan, in *A Study of International Government*, shows how the League of Nations itself is but the product of a thousand years or more of dreams and efforts for world brotherhood. Failure arises when man is not strong enough to carry out his ideals through regular organizations. It is, after all, a problem of the spirit and of social psychology, social ethics, and the other social sciences. The horrors of war are well known. The limitations of our organizations and methods are well known. And yet the social inheritance of the world reflects the human instincts for war and greater forces making for conflict than mere idealism can yet control. Thus we come again to the supreme problem of making valid our knowledge, our science, our ideals in the practical world of social relationships. This is not merely a task of the dreamer or the idealist, it is not the task of a day or a generation; but it is a task to which the student of social problems may hopefully set himself with confident belief that in time many of the difficulties will be overcome. The student must, therefore, face frankly the difficulties involved.

The Peace of the World. When Senator Borah reintroduced his resolution on the "Outlawry of War" into the United States Senate, December, 1926, *The Christian Century* for December 23, 1926, conducted a symposium on *America and World Peace.* Leading peace advocates of Europe and America were asked to comment upon Senator Borah's resolution, which in substance proposed not only the outlawing of war as a means for the settlement of international disputes but the setting up of an international court of justice, with a code of international law, which should

possess final jurisdiction over all controversial matters between nations. Contributing to the symposium were, besides William E. Borah and Salmon O. Levinson, John Dewey, professor of philosophy in Columbia University; William E. Rappard, rector of the University of Geneva; Gilbert Murray, Regius professor of Greek at Oxford University; Stephen G. Porter, member of Congress from Pennsylvania, and chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations; John Haynes Holmes, minister of the Community church, New York City; James J. Keane, archbishop of Dubuque, Iowa; Florence E. Allen, judge of the Supreme Court of the state of Ohio; Raymond Robins, distinguished publicist, lecturer, and social worker; Maude Royden, England's foremost woman preacher; Patrick H. Callahan, president of the Catholic Committee on International Affairs; Frederick W. Norwood, minister at the City Temple, London; Henry A. Atkinson, Frederick Lynch, and Fred B. Smith, secretaries of the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches; Melvin V. Oggel, Presbyterian minister, Crawfordsville, Indiana; Ernest F. Tittle, minister of the First Methodist church, Evanston, Illinois; Frederick F. Shannon, minister of the Central church, Chicago; Stephen S. Wise, distinguished rabbi of the Free synagogue, New York City. Along with the whole-hearted sanction of Senator Borah's resolution by the various writers was an approval of S. O. Levinson's suggested treaty to outlaw war. The proposed treaty calls first for the condemnation and final abandonment of war as a means for the settlement of disputes and for the considering of war not as a legal institution but as a public crime under the law of nations. As a pacific substitute for war Mr. Levinson proposes an international court of justice with a code of laws "based upon equality and justice between all nations." This international court will have jurisdiction over all international disputes and its decisions must be accepted as final by all nations. The far-reaching demand for world peace thus made clear by these American and European writers is part of a widespread movement to change the civil status of war from a legally sanctioned institution to a crime.

World Economics and the Nations. Among the most powerful of the influences which have brought the nations of the world into closer contact is the action of commerce and the stimulating

power of exchange. This influence, of course, has worked to two different ends. On the one hand the exchange of goods has led to the exchange of ideas, to closer contacts, to friendly relationships. The exchange of goods with its consequent exchange of customs and ideas modifies political and social procedure. The peoples of the world become in certain respects remarkably close akin. The American carpenter or machinist uses tools of no different pattern from those of his brother workman in far-off lands. The American phonograph entertains and amuses thousands in many countries. So, too, machinery and tools of various sorts carry the machine civilization of America into many lands and open up new fields to business enterprise. The extension of the organization methods of great corporations, such as oil and tobacco companies, becomes a powerful controlling influence in many places and in many phases of international life. On the other hand, it is a matter of common knowledge that business rivalry and competition in foreign commerce have been powerful factors in the conflict of nations.

Disturbing Factors. Study of the causes and aftermath of the World War has thrown new light upon national selfishness, evident in attempts to control trade, in jealousies relating to territory and in the desire to get possession of natural resources. Perhaps the best single illustration may be found in the international aspects of the control of oil. The nations have been involved in the Near East, in Russia and in Mexico to such an extent that the student of social problems will find one of his most difficult tasks in correlating the influence of oil upon government and political situations. Not only is the United States concerned with the difficult problems involved in oil resources in Mexico and other countries, but French and British companies control interests engaged in oil production in Poland, while oil monopoly in Macedonia is reported to have determined the British attitude toward the Greek war against the Turks. Other illustrations might be found. It seems clear that the economic rivalry of great nations is one of the stumbling-blocks in the way of any permanent league of nations and that it may still be an important cause of war. Hence it becomes the task of the social scientist to study such situations, to find the groundwork for permanent international organization, and to minimize so far as possible these dangers.

Religious Work and International Relations. An important phase of modern international relations from the viewpoint of the United States is the work of the churches, the missionaries, the Y. M. C. A., and other religious organizations seeking to extend their influence to other countries. The situation they have brought about has aroused certain foreign groups to sharp criticism of the efforts of Americans to introduce Christianity into their midst. They have raised questions concerning the conflict between business methods practiced by American promotors and the spirit of the gospel which their countrymen preach. They have questioned the consistency of American people who, neglecting many opportunities to inculcate and practice the principles of Christianity at home, have attempted to implant them abroad. They have been confused by the large number of denominations and sects and by the constant dissension and conflict between the fundamentalists and the modernists. A recent Y. M. C. A. report on the orient expresses the belief that "because of the progress of the native movement in China and adjacent countries American leadership no longer is paramount there." And Dean Edmund D. Soper of Duke University in a recent address said: "China, Japan, India wonder why we who would teach them have slaughtered each other in thousands, why we refuse to hold all races equal in our countries, why we will not hear both sides of questions. . . . We ask ourselves what is next, and we have no next. We have shot our bolt."

Race and Biological Influences. Another situation greatly changed during the first quarter of the twentieth century is that which concerns the attitude of races toward one another. Intercommunication in various fields, including commerce, industry, religion, education, has brought new knowledge, new experience and new restlessness to many heretofore dormant groups. Their participation in the war and their knowledge of world affairs have started them on new roads of adventure. It is commonly pointed out that although approximately two-thirds of the world's population is composed of colored races most of its control is in the hands of the white races. There is, therefore, in the more equitable adjustment of race relations a very important challenge to modern civilizations. And yet, great advances have already been made throughout the world in more generous ideals touching

the racial situation. There has been great increase in interracial amity. The old concepts of superiority and inferiority have given way in many instances to fairer considerations of racial differences and racial heritage. There has been a general tendency to ridicule the idea that race conflict must in the future, as in the past, exert a major influence on the making of war and peace. Although in earlier ages race conflict may have led to survival, in a fully developed modern society this will not be true. Nevertheless, in his appraisal of important international problems the student must not forget the problems of race.

Causes of War. After stating the causes for each of the sixty-one wars which have occurred between the time of the Spanish Armada in 1588 and the Treaties of Locarno in 1925, Mr. Turner, in *Causes of War and the New Revolution*, gives an inclusive statement of the general causes of wars which he summarizes under five general heads: Economic, Dynastic, Nationalistic, Religious, and Sentimental. The *economic* causes consist of quarrels over territory, colonies, trade, roadways, waterways, boundaries, islands, ports, cities, mines, industries, taxation, disbursements, monopolies, etc. *Dynastic* disputes arise over heredity, divine right, genealogy, right of succession, primogeniture, and the qualified electorates. The *nationalistic* causes are represented by patriotism, racial pride, national pride, envy, jealousy, traditions, and spirit of the crowd. *Religious* causes arise from conscientious devotion, varying forms of worship, fanaticism, intolerance, persecution, rise of science, liberalism, willingness for martyrdom, etc. Lastly, the *sentimental* causes are represented by vision, hope, longing for emancipation, sympathy, and temptation to intervention. In addition to the causes listed by Mr. Turner, we ought perhaps to add those arising out of *social incidence* as defined in a previous chapter, and those arising from personal leadership and its following.

The Prevention of War. Perhaps the most concrete argument for the study of international relations by the average citizen lies in the increasing emphasis placed upon the prevention of war in the future. The citizen may easily see that if adequate adjustments could be made between nations there would be no war. Thus he is eager to study the situation and willing, in theory at least, to do almost anything to prevent recurrence of the tragedies

of war. The League of Nations is the most outstanding effort of civilization to organize against war. In general the League has attempted to prevent war through the promotion of satisfactory international relations in such ways as have heretofore not been attempted. The first means which the League proposed was an impartial tribunal for mediation and arbitration. Another ambition of the League was to do away with the old secret diplomacy which has been so notorious in the past. A number of conferences have been held and some progress has been made. Still another international agreement would provide for the reduction of armaments, and the Washington conference in 1921 though not held under league auspices, resulted in a five-power treaty which brought about the scrapping of sixty-six ships by three powers,—thirty by the United States, nineteen by Great Britain, and seventeen by Japan. Another attempt, to restrict the use of submarines and poison gas, was not so successful, but beginnings have been made. The League of Nations also hoped to provide agreements whereby a number of nations through concerted action might prevent other hostile nations from going to war. Nevertheless, the League of Nations so far cannot be said to have succeeded to any great extent. The United States itself is not a member. Wars and near-wars have been looming over the horizon from time to time. The student must, therefore, continue his study and work for the better adjustment of international relations to prevent war.

International Government. It will thus be seen that although there may be general knowledge on the part of specially trained people as to what is required to bring about better relations, they have as yet been unable to effect successful organization to that end. They understand well the situation with reference to business rivalry and economic competition. They subscribe to the great principles of brotherhood. Nevertheless, these ideals, like the original ideals of American republicanism, must needs have some form of constitution and organization before they can become real. At the present time the world is still working upon its task of international politics. The League of Nations, in addition to its efforts to prevent war, has set itself to the making of adjustments in democracy, in labor, in economic situations, in international social work, social hygiene, and education. Some of the results must be apparent, and the vision of the League is

everywhere conceded to point to a desirable goal. Other methods are being proposed by various organizations, and it seems fair to expect this generation of students of politics and social science to evolve methods which in the next generation must be successful. So complicated and intricate, however, is the field of international government that it must be recognized as one in which great specialization is required. The American Peace Society on November 30, 1925, at its ninety-seventh annual meeting, expressed the belief that its purposes have "become more and more the will of the world, and opponents of the world system of settling international disputes have reason to offer a larger hope and a newer courage." Its members are not unmindful of the work of the schools, churches, and other institutions which aim to advance attainable peace, but they hold that permanent peace between nations must rest upon more extended use of certain well-tried means for the amicable settlement of international disputes. Some of these means include direct negotiations, the good offices of one or more nations, the mediation of one or more nations through commissions of inquiry, through councils of conciliation, through arbitration. A permanent court of international justice is advocated as the most hopeful immediate avenue.

Nationalism. Closely connected with the problems of international relations is that of nationalism. Immediately after the World War there was great stress placed upon the importance of small nations and their autonomy. The adjustment of satisfaction of national aspirations and of the consequent boundaries since the war has constituted one of the most difficult of international problems. On the truculent national attitudes of Germany and other states before the war has been laid a large part of the responsibility for the great conflict. "Germany over all" and the Nietzschean philosophy of the superstate were important influences. Since the war in the United States "100 per cent Americanism" has gone to unsocial extremes. It has resulted in the persecution of many citizens, in unreasonable attitudes towards foreign-born, in various types of hysteria. Such a philosophy put into wider practice might well lead to serious international difficulties as well as to many new problems at home. The disfavor in which the United States is held by many people in Europe bears eloquent testimony to this possibility.

Americanism. Baker-Crothers and Hudnut, in their *Problems of Citizenship*, discuss American ideals under six heads. They are self-government, liberty, equality of opportunity, haven of the oppressed, international ideals, the individual and public interest. Two questions arise in the study of these principles. First, are the United States or parts of it now departing from their original principles, and if so to what extent does this involve new problems and new dangers? In the second place, will not the United States face many new problems and great dangers if it does not change some of the principles originally set forth in its constitution and upheld in its history? Is the United States, for instance, jeopardizing the liberty of its people through too much legislation, through unofficial mass control, through religious domination? Is the older equality of opportunity possible in the modern time, with our great distances between the wealthy and the poor? Has the United States remained any sort of haven for the oppressed? Can the United States any longer boast of its isolation and yet become a leader of the world while standing aloof from other great nations either in times of prosperity or in times of trouble? Has the United States turned from its policy of idealism and public service to the pursuit of material gains, as is sometimes said at home and abroad?

A Diversified Nation. After all, however, it is a difficult task to speak of American sentiment or American policy in so varied a nation. The European coming to America is impressed by its vastness and its distances. There are many sections of America. The New England district, the Southern States, the Midwestern areas, and the Far West provide differences in economic and social situations. Turning back to the characteristics of Americanism just mentioned, can we say that all sections alike are American? Educators and writers from the Southern States have recently raised the question whether the South is not somewhat un-American in its attitude towards foreigners, in its tendency to be intolerant in religion, in its attitude towards the Negro, and in some other respects. On the other hand, it has been retorted that the South is really just living up to the original Americanism as expressed in New England puritanism and the isolation policy of George Washington. Here is, therefore, a real question for study. American critics of New York City have maintained that it is anything

but "American," with its large foreign-born population and many languages. Eastern critics of the Middle West and the extreme West have pointed out "un-American" actions and policies of those sections, while in turn they have proclaimed themselves the virile strength of America. Conflict and discussion growing out of the national elections have revealed varying interests and varying conflicts of ideals in the contemporary American situation. During the war the outcry against the hyphenated American gave evidence of differences in ethnic groups within the nation. In a larger way Professor Frederick J. Turner has called attention in his discussion of "Regions and Nations" to very vital factors which may be utilized in these differences between sections. Thus the student of social problems must take into consideration the sectional backgrounds of his national and state problems.

Local and National Problems. These same sectional differences give rise often to distinct and concrete sectional problems not necessarily applicable to the whole nation. The Southern States have their Negro problems, inherited and acquired. The Negro involves the whole educational, economic, and social system of Southern civilization, which until recently has had the bulk of the "Negro problem" to handle. Thus arise many local issues which do not appear to other parts of the nation to have been satisfactorily settled. Consequently there is born the agitation for such a measure as the Dyer anti-lynching law, a national act of control, which is opposed by southern senators and representatives. The cotton fields and cotton textiles have given rise to problems which the northern section feels are not handled adequately. Consequently there is agitation for the child labor amendment to the federal constitution. Other problems, relating to farm situations, are abundant in the West and call for discussion, study, and legislation often misunderstood in the East. Similar problems relating to immigration and congestion of population arise in the Eastern cities. There are, furthermore, the problems involved in prohibition, with conflicting sentiments between the East and South and West, the attitude of each section being founded upon very real social, economic, and cultural conditions.

Roads to Social Peace. Professor E. A. Ross, in *Roads to Social Peace*, has pointed out other problems of regional, sectional, and intergroup conflict. He observes that the "most cynical

militarists agree that antagonistic social groups within the nation must never be allowed to go to breaking heads." Professor Ross thinks, however, that social peace means more than merely refraining from warfare:

> It implies that such baleful and anti-social passions as envy, jealousy and hatred are not being engendered on a large scale. It implies, furthermore, that there is sufficient good will for members of opposing groups to coöperate freely in a social, political, or business way when opportunities for advantageous coöperation present themselves. Nevertheless, there will be tensions if the healthy processes of social adjustment are to go on. Fundamentalists and liberals, conservatives and progressives, open-shoppers and closed-shoppers, protectionists and free-traders, conservationists and 'developers,' drys and wets, must be allowed to become conscious of their disagreements and to thresh them out in the open even if some heat and ill will be generated in the process.

Sectional Conflict. Five types of internal conflict are studied by Professor Ross. The first is the conflict arising from sectionalism which, he reminds us, is but natural in an imperial nation like the United States, differentiated by the seaboard, the mineralized region, the corn belt, the wheat belt, the cotton kingdom, the timbered area, the Great Lakes country, the arid region, the Pacific slope. He points out that "written in letters of blood, no political lesson has been more thoroughly learned by Americans than the menace which lurks in the discord between sections." He suggests five remedies for the avoidance of strife. These are proportionality of representation in government, proportional sharing of the benefit of government, proportional sharing of the burdens of government, the sectional bearing of legislation, and a systematic plan of hearings given by the people of each section to qualified spokesmen for other sections.

Sectarian Strife. Undoubtedly one of America's most important problems in this new era is the conflict of ideals, and particularly sectarian strife and the war between science and theology. This can no longer be considered merely a matter of religion or philosophy; it becomes a problem of social and political importance. There has been a considerable tendency in recent years for religious denominations and interests to seek to dominate politics and control government, thus endangering the whole spirit of American freedom. Perhaps the remedy for the whole problem

will be found in the complete separation of church and state. Professor Ross states eight principles implied:

a. Freedom of religious belief and the free exercise of worship within the limits of morality and public order.

b. No religious test to be imposed for naturalization, voting, office-holding or jury duty.

c. No one may have his civil or political rights abridged by ecclesiastical provisions, nor may religious views absolve one from the performance of his civil duties.

d. No recognition of ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

e. No public money to be devoted to the support of religion.

f. Cemeteries to be controlled by the municipality rather than the church.

g. No indoctrination or obligatory participation in worship in public schools or state educational institutions.

h. Ministers not to make the exercise of citizen functions a matter of conscience, or threaten spiritual penalties for one's political activity.

Other Forms of Conflict. In subsequent chapters something will be said concerning the evils of conflict between town and country. Of special importance in the American situation now is the mitigation of class struggle which appears to arise so easily in lands of enormous wealth. There is, of course, the conflict between capital and labor, between the so-called working class and the leisure class. There is some conflict between the business man and the farmer. There are conflicts between the common man and the professional man far apart in interests and ideals, as will be pointed out in our chapter on adult education. Other important tasks will be found in promoting peace between the different nationalities within a country. Professor Ross points out eight principles which will be discussed later in the chapters on race and immigration. In regions to which immigration may newly come, such as the Southern States, there will be danger of conflict because of changing standards with reference to religion, the Sabbath, race relations, and other matters of custom and habit. Thus Professor Ross has hit upon one of the most important social problems,—that of maintaining social peace throughout the nation. One problem of local conflict Professor Ross omits entirely. For, he says, of the types of intergroup conflict, "the reader will miss one, namely, *race conflict*, which with us means conflict between

whites and Negroes. This certainly has spilled more blood and roused more hellish passions than any other type of internal conflict; and the reader will wonder why I pass it by. My reason is that I do not know what is the 'road to peace' for intermingled color races." Nevertheless, in our next two chapters we must glance at this particular social problem of America, as well as at important elementary considerations of race in general.

FOR FURTHER STUDY

For Information

1. What are some of the modern agencies for promoting international good will?
2. What is the League of Nations?
3. What are some of the handicaps in the way of world peace?
4. Discuss the relation of world economics to war.
5. List the chief causes of war.

For Stimulating Thought

6. Why are the staunchest supporters of war found among the churches and the schools in contrast to the ideals of Christianity and social education?
7. What are some of the dangers of nationalism?
8. In what way is America's original isolation policy inconsistent in the new day with American ideals?
9. Could the war between the states, in your judgment, have been avoided?
10. It is often said that war will continue as long as human nature has its combative traits. Discuss this fallacy.

For Research and Creative Writing

11. Write an article on the "waste of war."
12. List twenty of the chief falsehoods used during the Great War to inflame the people against the enemy.
13. Write a short story either in narrative form or descriptive essay of a family feud.
14. Make a list of twenty characteristics commonly thought to represent "Southerners," "New Englanders," "Westerners."
15. Give a brief historical treatment of "Americanism."

For Practical Application

16. What "next steps" are of importance in China's readjustment to her foreign relationships?
17. Outline a practical course of study on war and peace for a community club.
18. Why is America unpopular in many parts of Europe?
19. What are the fundamental issues involved in the Chinese Situation of 1927?
20. Give illustrations in which sectarian strife has divided communities and families.

For Continuity of Effort

21. What are the chief community agencies which may be counted upon to promote the peace of the world?
22. In terms of genuine Americanism discuss the Ku Klux Klan and Knights of Columbus.
23. Is the American Legion opposed to nation-wide programs for peace?
24. What is the program of the National Federation of Women's Clubs with reference to the prevention of war?
25. What is meant by a professional Southerner? New Englander? Westerner?

For Effective Reading

26. For special study: Ross's *Roads to Social Peace*, Dealey's *Foreign Policies of the United States*, Chapters I and XXIV through XXXI of Baker-Crothers and Hudnut's *Problems of Citizenship*, Sullivan's *Our Times*, Turner's *America in Civilization*.
27. For sampling or exhaustive reading: Addams, Bakeless, Davies, G. R., Davis, J. W., Dickinson, Eldridge, Elliott, Ely, Garnett, Gould, Grabo, Hadley, MacKaye, Madden, Myers, W. S., Richards, Stawell, Turner, Zimmern.

CHAPTER XI

RACE AND SOCIETY

The Racial Population of the World. While it is not possible to give exact figures as to the total population of the world to-day and the number and proportion of people in the different races, we can use common estimates which are sufficiently accurate to present a factual picture of the problem of race and society. Two widely quoted estimates are those of Stoddard in his *The Rising Tide of Color*, and East in his *Population Problems*. Stoddard's estimate of the world's population is 1,700,000,000, while East's was 50,000,000 in excess of this. East estimated that of this total number probably 710,000,000 were white; while Stoddard thinks that no more than 550,000,000 are white. Or, to contrast the white and colored races again, East estimated that the total of the colored races was 1,040,000,000; while Stoddard believes the colored would total 1,150,000,000. If this aggregate be again divided according to the five major racial groupings, we find the following estimates:

Race	*East*	*Stoddard*
White	710,000,000	550,000,000
Yellow	510,000,000	500,000,000
Brown	420,000,000	450,000,000
Black	110,000,000	150,000,000
Red or undistributed		50,000,000
Total	1,750,000,000	1,700,000,000

World Society and Race. A study of the distribution of the world's racial population is itself enough to call attention to the magnitude of the situation. There are, however, a great many special features which call for special study at this time. It has long been a common saying for instance, that when the Chinese people "awake" there would be need for the readjustment of world society. A great deal of common talk, too, has been to the effect that conflict between the white and the yellow races might

lie in the distant future and bring about such a world cataclysm as has not yet been experienced. We have already remarked the conflict between the brown races and certain of the white controlling groups. We have also called attention to the changing physical, economic, social, political, and military conditions which alter as well the relative status of "superior" and "inferior" peoples. Mr. Stoddard emphasizes the fact that although in numbers the colored races predominate, in the past and at the present time nine-tenths of the world's governments are in white hands, whereas only four-tenths of its area are inhabited by white peoples. He calls attention also to the fact that none of the colored races shows any signs of a declining birth rate. The great centers of the yellow race will be found in China and Japan, whose populations are estimated respectively at around 350,000,000 and 80,000,000, with the Japanese believed to be increasing rapidly. The other center of Asiatic population lies in India, with more than 300,000,000 people. We shall look again presently at some of the problems which revolve around these racial situations.

Racial Problems in the United States. In the United States racial problems have centered largely around the Negro and oriental elements. The next chapter will be devoted to the study and discussion of the Negro in America. In subsequent chapters we shall study the significance of the oriental groups and questions of immigration. It is important now to call attention to the racial distribution of the population in the United States, to note the other very important problems arising from nationality and ethnical groupings other than those of race, and to follow these factual considerations with fundamental studies of the whole background of the race situation. Numerically, as compared with the racial distribution of the world, our domestic situation does not appear difficult, with the exception of the Negro. The 1920 Census estimate of the United States population is 105,710,620, of whom 94,820,915 or 89.9 per cent are reported as white. There were, in addition, 10,463,131 or 9.9 per cent Negroes; 244,437 or 0.2 per cent Indian; 61,639 or 0.06 per cent Chinese; 111,010 or 0.1 per cent Japanese; and 9,488 or less than one-tenth of one per cent in all other groups.

Nationality and Race. The problem of distribution, assimilation and conflict in the United States is, however, with the excep-

tion of the problem of the Negro, one of nationalities and ethnic groups. The diversity of language, custom, culture, and ethnic heritage in the United States is, for the practical purposes of study, a major problem. With the element of foreign-born in the United States aggregating a total of only 3,712,754, there are, nevertheless, more than forty distinct areas from which these are recruited, as shown in the following table, giving the countries of birth of the foreign-born white population, according to the 1920 Census:

Ethnic Group	*Number*	*Per Cent*
England	812,828	5.9
Scotland	254,567	1.9
Wales	67,066	0.5
Ireland	1,037,233	7.6
Norway	363,862	2.7
Sweden	625,580	4.6
Denmark	180,154	1.4
Netherlands	131,766	1.0
Belgium	62,686	0.5
Luxembourg	12,585	0.1
Switzerland	118,659	0.9
France	118,569	0.9
Alsace-Lorraine	34,321	0.3
Germany	1,686,102	12.3
Poland	1,139,978	8.3
Czechoslovakia	362,439	2.6
Austria	575,625	4.2
Hungary	397,282	2.9
Jugoslavia	169,437	1.2
Russia	1,400,489	10.2
Lithuania	135,068	1.0
Finland	149,824	1.1
Roumania	102,823	0.7
Bulgaria	10,477	0.1
Turkey in Europe	5,284	——
Greece	175,972	1.3
Albania	5,608	——
Italy	1,610,109	11.7
Spain	49,247	0.4
Portugal	67,453	0.5
Other Europe	5,901	——
Armenia	36,626	0.3

Ethnic Group	*Number*	*Per Cent*
Asia Minor	2,404	——
Palestine	3,202	——
Syria	51,900	0.4
Turkey in Asia	8,610	0.1
Other Asia	7,708	0.1
French Canada	307,786	2.2
Other Canada	810,092	5.9
Newfoundland	13,242	0.1
Mexico	478,383	3.5
West Indies	23,399	0.2
Central-South America	20,929	0.2
Atlantic Islands	38,984	0.3
Australia	10,801	0.1
All Others	17,727	0.1

The Study of Race. We have quoted Professor Ross, in his *Roads to Social Peace*, as saying that he did not know "what is the road to peace for inter-mingled color races," and we may well take this verdict as indicative of the difficult place which race holds in the entire field of social problems. For race, whether studied academically or observed at first hand as it exists in small areas or among the dispersed peoples of the world, must be recognized as an element in the social structure which has been evolved over long periods of time. Its problems and its ramifications are constantly recurring in varied forms wherever different ethnic strains are found. It is, therefore, presumptuous for the student to think in terms of dogmatic assertions or immediate "solutions." It is a hopeful sign that the present age has set itself to the task of a more comprehensive study and a more equitable adjustment of race situations than has yet been attempted.

Race and Social Change. In previous chapters we have noted the importance of race as it affects national, international, and regional situations. We have observed how social and economic change and the closer gathering of nations and peoples have brought a new consciousness and new problems to the races of the world. Professor Finot, in *Race Prejudice*, points out how "the conception of races, once so innocent, has cast as it were a veil of tragedy over the surface of our earth. From without it shows us humanity divided into unequal fractions. There are aristocratic and superior peoples, peoples chosen to govern and

to be admired. There are others, inferior, slaves of the first, enduring the suspicion and contempt which come to them from all sides. From within this same falsely conceived science of races likewise encourages hatred and discord among the children of the same common country." Thus the student faces a situation in which race is often the chief basis for social differentiation and conflict. What the social sciences can do for more effective study and for the better ordering of race relationships remains to be seen. Certainly, as was pointed out in earlier chapters, the problem of the readjustment of life and labor as between race and race is one of the great world problems of this era. And the recent study of race has assumed such proportions as to justify the oft-quoted phrase "newer concepts of race."

Theories of Racial Origins. One of the best ways in which the student may recognize the bigness of the problem of races is by inquiring briefly into the various theories and controversies concerning the origin of races and their diffusion over the world. In general, there have been two main theories of race origin. One group of racial theorists holds that man was originally of a single undifferentiated race, but that as eons of time passed geographic surroundings, climate, altitude, isolation and other environmental influences, with the aid of variation and natural selection, have operated to bring about the present differentiation of races. This theory of the unitary origin has predominated. In direct contrast to it is the multiple origin theory of the polygenists, who hold that mankind was originally of different races. They for the most part deny or greatly discount the modifying influences of geographic surroundings. Growing out of these two theories have been many controversies and around them have been centered many important projects of study in anthropology, in sociology, in psychology, in human geography. These studies, it may be said, are of great importance from the viewpoint of science and scientific method as well as from the viewpoint of racial relations.

Notable Theories. Some of the theories of racial origins as advocated by notable scholars may be given to illustrate the approach to the study of race problems. Professor Thomas has quoted Henry Home as being the first to contend that man was originally of different races, having been so created that he might be able to live in various climates. This author denies the modi-

fying influences of climate. Gobineau maintained that the races were originally three: the white, the black, and the yellow; that they were from the beginning separate, distinct, and permanently differentiated ethnic groups, independent of any environmental modification. The Arabian historian and geographer, Ibn Khaldun, was a pioneer and forerunner of the environmentalists. He emphasized the modifying effect of climate and directly attributed the black skin of the Negro to the intense heat of the tropics, basing his conclusions upon the assumption that if Negroes migrate to the temperate zone, they in time become white, and hence are black because of their place of residence. He wholly credits race differences, especially pigmentation, to adjustment to environment. Darwin, in discussing racial origins, applies his theory of variation and selection. He suggests that differences are due to (1) variation, (2) the nature of the variations preserved (or natural selection), and (3) inheritance. According to Darwin, the earlier the period the less differentiated are the races which have arisen from a common stock.

Professor Giddings and Others. In general agreement with Darwin, Professor Giddings has formulated a theory of racial origin. He considers the white race, because of its greater variability, the original undifferentiated but plastic race. In earliest times a part of this original race migrated into a location favorable to the development of black racial characteristics and there through a tendency to vary, aided by natural selection, the black race evolved. He accounts for the origin of the yellow race in a corresponding manner. Humboldt, Demolins, and Ripley attribute race differences to general geographic surroundings. They view the original race as of one common species which, by a gradual process of selective adaptation to environment, has been transformed into various racial types. Others who have been influential in producing the modern emphasis on geographic influences but who have stressed to a larger degree climatic conditions are Buffon, Semple, and Huntington. Buffon goes so far in his theory of the adaptability of man to climate as to say that if any race were to return to its original habitat it would in time take on again its former color and racial characteristics.

Semple and Huntington. As a summary of Miss Semple's racial theory, the following is quoted from *Influences of Geographic*

Environment: "Certain geographic conditions, more conspicuously those of climate, apply certain stimuli to which man, like the lower animals, responds by an adaptation of his organism to his environment. Many psychological peculiarities of man are due to physical effects of environment, which doubtless operated very strongly in the earliest stages of human development, and in those shadowy ages contributed to the differentiation of races. The unity of the human species was clearly established as the diversity of races and peoples, whose divergencies must be interpreted chiefly as modifications in response to various habitats in long periods of time. . . . This fact points strongly to some direct relation between climate and pigmentation, but gives no hint how the pigmentation processes are affected." Huntington, maintaining that geography is the basis of history, lays great stress upon the power of geographic conditions in impressing and preserving racial differences.

Race Struggle and Social Development. One of the most important of modern inquiries is that which questions the older theory that social survival and social development must be conditioned by race struggle. On the historical side there is much evidence that seems to support the theory, but what of the new order and the new relationships? Gumplowicz, the Austrian sociologist, was the outstanding advocate of this theory. To him, races were of multiple origin. Each horde had its own language, religion, and customs. Within the group existed an intense consciousness of kind, and at the same time an instinctive hatred of all other hordes. Pressure of population and economic necessity often brought two groups into conflict, resulting in the subjugation and amalgamation or in the annihilation of one group. After larger units have thus grown out of conflict and struggle, group self-interest and group desire for security are the unifying forces. The stronger the material, economic, and moral socializing forces the greater the group cohesion, and the greater the power to withstand opposition and thus preserve the social group. In Gumplowicz's theory there is little place for the individual, for society is an "aggregation of groups." Though a general spirit of pessimism pervades his attitude toward progress, whatever advance is made comes through a process of struggle and conflict between groups.

Contrary Theories. There are many students in the modern era, however, who combat this theory of the importance of race struggle. Professor Finot, for instance, says that "on the ruins, therefore, of the falsehood of races, solidarity and true equality arise, both founded on rational sentiment of respect for human dignity." This theory maintains that the differences among men are only individual, and that when these differences are recognized there will be no room for hatreds and for social and political superiorities and inferiorities determined by race. This theory maintains that such a conception of humanity would not destroy sentiment or patriotism or loyalty, but would enhance these virtues. Further, its acceptance would dissipate the whole nightmare of race prejudice and the fear which hangs over the world obscuring justice and humanity and denying the various racial groups the right to develop itself even as individuals develop themselves. The realization of such a theory, must, of course, belong to the future, because one cannot ignore the actual existence of race prejudice and physical differences and the manifestations of diverse spiritual and mental traits.

Theories of Racial Supremacy. The emphasis upon a hypothetical "pure" race and its assumed social superiority may be seen by a review of the six theories expanded by Professor Hankins in *The Racial Basis of Civilization.* A basic doctrine and one from which other theories have emanated is *Aryanism.* It arose from the observance of certain similarities between the Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, Teutonic, and Celtic languages, which seemed to argue the existence of an original "pure" Aryan race speaking the language from which the other stemmed. Though all adherents of Aryanism have agreed on the priority and superiority of the race, its birthplace has been a matter of controversy. Max Müller designated Asia as the cradleland of the Aryans; D'Hallory represents the advocates of European origin; Geiger maintained that the race originated south of the Baltic; Peitrement was convinced that it was in Siberia, Giles that it was in Hungary, and Childe that it was in south Russia. The next theory to be noted is that of Gobineau, called *Gobinism.* This theory, a derivation of Aryanism, designated the white race as the superior and aggressive one which degenerates as intermixture with other races occurs. Out of Gobinism, which asserted the superiority of the Aryan

race, developed *Teutonism* in Germany, which maintained that the tall blond German represented the original and superior race. The most eminent champion of Teutonism was Chamberlain, who asserted the primacy of the Teuton and assigned to him all that was worthy in past civilizations. Enhanced by the poets, philosophers, and historians of the nineteenth century, the doctrine of Teutonism expanded into militarism and *Pan-Germanism*, which was in so great evidence just preceding the World War. Another group of racial theorists were the *social selectionists*, who placed their emphasis upon the operation of biological principles. Concrete human measurements, especially the cephalic index, were the criteria for their conclusions. Ammon, the main exponent of this theory, asserted the superiority of the long-headed blonds. Still another outgrowth of Aryanism was *Celticism* or *Gallicism* in France. The Celts or Gauls, the reputed progenitors of the French, were represented as possessing traits of superior racial value.

Nordic Superiority. Finally, in England and America has arisen the cult of *Anglo-Saxonism* or *Nordicism* which assumes a pure Nordic race that originated the Aryan language and spread its superior culture through Europe and part of Asia. American historians who have adopted the theory of Anglo-Saxonism are Herbert B. Adams and John Fiske. Burgess and Grant are others who have kept alive the emphasis upon Nordicism and Anglo-Saxonism. Grant, maintaining that all blonds are Nordics and all pure Nordics are blonds, underestimates the rôle of the roundheads in European history and culture. He implies an incapacity of the Alpines, or darker peoples, for independent development and their subordination to the Nordic race. Other writers who have made observations upon Nordic characteristics and racial trends of the present day are McDougall and Lothrop Stoddard. Stoddard sees in the increased expansion of the colored races a danger of undermining civilization. McDougall places especial emphasis upon the tendency of the Nordics to introversion. Endowed with curiosity, though lacking in sociability, the Nordics have become the explorers, colonizers, and empire-builders. Finally, there is a considerable number of modern scholars who combat vigorously the Nordic theory, and who assign to *culture* the chief place as a determinant of racial origins and status.

Race and Culture. Although social development is admittedly closely related to biological backgrounds much of the newer emphasis upon race is based upon the thesis that race is cultural more than biological. For though man is a separate species, with social attributes not shared by the animal world, he exhibits within his species, as Professor Wilson D. Wallis puts it, "such marked differences in physical characteristics that varieties or races of mankind are recognized and by some are reckoned as of primary importance in social life." What, then, is the conclusion of the whole matter as seen by the anthropologist and the sociologist? To what extent are culture and environment factors in the development of races and institutions? Is it true that biological forces determine social development through other channels more than they do in race? What are the psychological factors involved as set over against the biological and social?

A Representative Viewpoint. Professor Wallis, in his discussion of "Race and Culture" in the *Scientific Monthly* for October, 1926, sums up the anthropological findings as he interprets them. He points out that although races differ in accomplishment this difference is not constant through the centuries. Potential function of race is as important as actual accomplishment. Thus the important factor of historic opportunity must be considered. Tests of individuals cannot be taken as tests of the race to which they belong. Psychic and social differences are controlling factors in the determination of racial status at any given time. The experimental psychologist has done little more than find negative results. Professor Wallis thinks that "by the test of behavioristic psychology what a race is is equivalent to what it does and can do; race qualities cannot be inferred from the qualities of the individuals who compose the race, for the character of the group seldom is either the average or the sum of the characters of the individuals who compose it. Only when we test races living under like conditions do we have comparable data. Since the accomplishments of the respective races fluctuate considerably through the centuries, we have no reason to believe that one race differs from another in innate psychic equipment."

Race and Civilization. What, then, is the place of race in the past history of civilization, and what in the future? If race as a factor in the past assumed a certain rôle, will changing conditions

in physical environment, in scientific applications, in social attitudes and political relationships be such as to make that rôle different in the future, regardless of diverse opinions as to the importance of biological or cultural factors? Will social incidence, as discussed in a previous chapter, be as large a factor in the future as it has been in the past? Professor Hankins, in *The Racial Basis of Civilization*, emphasizes the theory that the actual course of history is fundamentally determined by the conjuncture of racial, cultural, and geographical factors. As he puts it,

> it appears that the question of the rôle of race as a factor in civilization is primarily a question of the kind of racial combination that is, by the fateful operations of historical chance, brought into contact with a favorable or unfavorable conjuncture of cultural factors. Just as in politics or business there is a considerable element of luck which brings man and opportunity together, so with race and historical situation. And just as some men prove equal or even superior to the greatness which opportunity thrusts upon them, so some racial combinations exploit their situations and some do not. Or we may say that just as some make opportunities out of what are but hindrances to others, so some racial combinations forge great epochs out of what for others would have led only to a long blank page.

His conclusion is that the only satisfactory course at the present time is to study the valid findings of racialists, geographers, and culturists. Thus the student of social problems must give close attention to the cultural anthropologists, who assert that all races are substantially equal and that all cultural differences may be explained by differences in the cultural history and contacts. However, the student must also consider the evidence of other viewpoints, and must be willing to base final conclusions and social policies upon cumulative evidence, much of which is yet to be gathered.

American Applications. Although historical and theoretical aspects of race are of the utmost importance in themselves and provide fundamental backgrounds for the understanding of modern situations, nevertheless they often appear of less importance than certain current race relationships. The American race problem is usually interpreted to mean the Negro problem, and the next chapter will be devoted entirely to this subject. America has, however, many difficult social and economic situations which

concern its varied races in which the Negro plays only one part among others. Racial attitudes and racial discriminations abound. And in these practical relationships the use of the word race must be extended to cover various ethnic classifications other than race in the anthropological sense of the word; for in America it would be difficult to analyze the elements of population in such way as to find what might be called pure racial groups. We return now to the classification given in the early part of this chapter, in which more than forty groups were cited as the basis of America's population. It is from members of these groups that many of the social problems of conflict arise. *The Inquiry* of New York, for instance, in its study "And Who Is My Neighbor?", selects twenty-seven groupings for the study of conflict:

Serb	Mohammedan	Negro
Jugoslav	Fleming	Anglo-Saxon
Jew	Belgian	Kelt
African	Turk	French
Mexican	Nordic	Swiss
Occidental	Russian	Caucasian
Hindu	Mongol	Alpine
Latin	Chinese	Greek
Scandinavian	British	American Indian

Attitudes, Misunderstandings, and Conflicts. Much of the conflict between ethnic groups in America is due to misunderstanding and moral and social handicaps. Out of the thousands of concrete cases of conflict and misunderstanding in America *The Inquiry* has chosen 194 which are remarkably illuminating in the light they throw upon acts and attitudes of Americans towards Chinese, Negroes, Japanese, and the foreign-born in general. *The Inquiry* asks:

> Is a complete adjustment between all the racial and national groups that make up the American population possible without changes in the attitude of Americans towards foreign peoples in their home countries? What effect would a fuller adjustment of the different national and racial groups that make up the American people have upon American relations with other nations? Specify two or three distinct problems in American foreign relations that would be influenced by such adjustment, and how they would be influenced.

Concrete Analysis of Situations. In order to answer the questions of *The Inquiry* and the others which we have asked in this chapter, it is not only necessary to understand the broader backgrounds of racial development but also to picture the situation as it is to-day with an attempt to measure the elements underlying the essential inter-racial problems. The 194 cases just mentioned have been classified under seven main headings with forty-two subdivisions, as listed below:

- Understandings and Misunderstandings:
  - Ethnological
  - Sociological
  - Misrepresentation
- Some Additional Attitudes:
  - What Is It?
  - Reactions to Physical Appearance
  - Reactions to Political and Religious Backgrounds
  - Reactions to Foreign Languages
  - Reactions to Cultural Standards
  - Reactions to Social Status
  - Exploitation of Race Prejudice
- Economic Handicaps:
  - Employment
  - Conditions of Work
  - In Business and the Professions
  - Conflicting Interests—Employment Policies
  - Relations between Fellow Workers
  - The Public Interest
  - Economic Exploitation
- Social Handicaps:
  - Housing
  - Breaking Bread
  - Shopping and Amusements
  - Other Forms of Recreation
- Nonadjustment and Maladjustment:
  - Old Residents and New
  - Effects of Nonadjustment
  - A New Environment
  - Old and Young
- Civic Handicaps:
  - In the Courts
  - In the Execution of Law
  - Citizenship
  - National Defense
  - Public Service
- Educational Handicaps:
  - School Provision
  - Education Outside School
  - In Higher Education
  - Relations between Fellow Students
  - Attitudes toward Teachers
  - After College—What?

Social Handicaps:—*Continued*

Church Activities	Swimming
Public Conveyances	Social Service
Hotels	

Inter-racial Conferences. There are many concrete methods by which students of the American race problem are undertaking to study the situation and to promote better adjustments. Among these methods are inter-racial committees, coördinating groups, foundations for study and research, university and college efforts, subdivisions of religious and church activity, departments of the Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A., special organizations like the Urban League and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, similar organizations related to other races and nationalities, and many annual conferences. The outstanding effort of recent years has been the Southern Inter-Racial Commission, while the recently organized National Inter-Racial Conference gives promise of good results. Significant also have been the student conferences of recent years. In December, 1926, for instance, 3,000 students were gathered in a national conference at Milwaukee. *Information Service*, of the Department of Research and Education of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, reported that there was practical unanimity on the proposition: "I am willing to give to the members of every race the same opportunities for cultural and intellectual advancement that I claim for myself." Six hundred eighty-one students declared their purpose "to deny no one in any race on my campus any privilege that I claim for myself." Only eleven students stood up to be counted for the proposition: "Regarding some races inferior to my own I believe in keeping them in their place." Careful, experienced observers at the conference testified that the race issue and the issues concerning war were those that stirred the most interest among the students. Further study of race relations will be outlined in the next chapter, devoted to the Negro in America.

FOR FURTHER STUDY

For Information

1. What is race?
2. Discuss theories of racial origins.
3. What was Gumplowicz's theory of race struggle?
4. What are Hankins' theories of racial supremacy?
5. What is the modern anthropological viewpoint of the relation of culture to race?

For Stimulating Thought

6. Give a critical analysis of the claims for Nordic superiority.
7. Criticize with ample evidence the following statement: "Negroes are less advanced in civilization than whites, and are, therefore, inferior."
8. Criticize the following statement from the viewpoint of racial development: "Colored races have never had equal opportunity with the white races."
9. Criticize the theory that race is primarily a matter of culture only.
10. Discuss the United States treatment of the American Indian.

For Research and Creative Writing

11. Draw up a map of the United States showing racial distribution; ethnic distribution.
12. Describe either from first-hand experience or from written sources a race riot in the United States.
13. Write up a half dozen case studies of race discrimination in the United States.
14. Make a report on the present status of the Indian in the United States.
15. Write up a report of the proceedings of the Chicago Race Commission.

For Practical Application

16. *And Who Is My Neighbor?* Pick out cases of maladjustment between races which may be duplicated in your community.

17. Give examples of race prejudice that have come within your own experience.
18. Draw up a plan of inter-racial coöperation for state, city, or section.
19. What is America's race problem to-day?
20. What are the backgrounds of the Chinese crises of 1927?

For Continuity of Effort

21. Recently there has been formed in New York a National Inter-racial Conference. What should its functions be?
22. Special types of inter-racial coöperation have been the Southern Inter-Racial Commission, and the Pennsylvania Inter-Racial Commission. What other similar activities do you know about?
23. What are the activities of the Federal Council of Churches with reference to race and religion?
24. Show how the churches have functioned well or have failed to function in the oriental crisis.
25. Discuss the principles underlying the organization and program known as "The Christian way of life."

For Effective Reading

26. For special study: Hankins' *The Racial Basis of Civilization*, Stoddard's *The Rising Tide of Color*, Boas' *The Mind of Primitive Man*, Finot's *Race Prejudice*, *And Who Is My Neighbor?*, a report published for *The Inquiry*, by the Association Press.
27. For sampling and exhaustive reading: Boas, Dixon, Finot, Gobineau, Grant, M., Haddon, Humphrey, Lowie, Mathews, Mecklin, Miller, H. A., Miller, K., Paschal, Pittard, Ripley, Speer, Stoddard.

CHAPTER XII

THE NEGRO IN AMERICA

The Negro as an American Race Problem. In his volume on *The American Race Problem*, Professor Reuter presents the thesis that "the social situation resulting from the presence of ten million Negroes in a population preponderantly and increasingly white is commonly accepted as America's greatest social problem." Certainly there is a general consensus of opinion that the Negro in America constitutes at least one of our most important problems. In the preceding chapter some of the fundamental backgrounds of race study were presented and reference was made to the Negro as one of the leading racial elements in this country. In our chapter on the social population we shall study the problem of Negro migration, alongside other migratory movements, and shall give some of the general facts regarding the movement of Negro population. In the present chapter, although we shall present as many factual considerations as space will permit, our main emphasis will be upon the importance of objective study and scientific portraiture of the Negro as he is in the United States to-day. Following the method of the previous chapter on race, we shall begin by stating briefly the size and extent of the situation in the United States.

The Negro Population in the United States. The Negro population in the United States is approximately ten per cent of the total, the 1920 Census reporting 10,463,131, or 9.9 per cent. The exhaustive study of the distribution, classification and character of this population would itself constitute a major task. Since this chapter was begun two volumes dealing entirely with the American Negro have appeared, Dowd's *The Negro in American Life* having appeared in the fall of 1926, and Reuter's *The American Race Problem* in January, 1927. Other special volumes will be listed at the end of the chapter for further study, so that here we shall present only certain of the larger fundamental factors. One important factor is the slowing down of the Negro population's rate of growth alongside its actual increase in numbers. In 1880,

for instance, the per cent of increase in Negro population was 34.9 as against 29.2 for the whites; while in 1920 the Negro increase was only 6.5 per cent as compared with 16.0 per cent of the whites. Even so late as 1900 and 1910 the ratio of Negro increase was much larger than at present, being respectively 18.0 and 11.2, over against 21.2 and 22.3 per cent for the whites. Of course this low rate of growth in 1920 was largely determined by the rapid social change brought about by war and migration. A similar social change after the Civil War was matched by a similar reduction of growth in 1870, when the increase of Negro population was 9.9 per cent, as against 24.8 per cent for the whites.

General Distribution. Other important factors in the Negro population relate to its distribution throughout the nation. It has been customary to refer to the Negro as a southern problem. Although this was never an accurate appraisal, nevertheless the large migration from the South to the North during the last decade has made the Negro more than ever a national problem. Of the 10,463,131 Negroes in the United States in 1920 there were still 8,912,259 in the Southern States. There were still 162,832 more Negroes in the South in 1920 than there were in 1910. But the white population in the South has increased still more rapidly, thus reducing the ratio of Negro population in the South from 29.8 per cent in 1910 to 27.0 in 1920. From all indications, South Carolina and Mississippi, which have previously reported more than 50 per cent of their population to be Negroes, will report at the next Census a slight majority of whites. This Negro population in the South is very generally distributed throughout rural and urban areas in all the states, the South Atlantic States having 4,325,120; the East South Central 2,523,532; and the West South Central 2,063,579. On the other hand, the Negroes in the North tend to be congested in a few urban and industrial centers, Mr. Monroe N. Work reporting that of the northern Negro population 1,139,505, or 73.4 per cent of the whole, are living in ten industrial districts.

Special Problems. Thus the congestion of the Negro population in new areas brings about new social problems. In some northern cities the increase of Negro population during the last decade has been little less than epochal. In Pittsburgh, for instance, the increase is reported by Professor Reuter, in his *The*

American Race Problem, to be 611.3 per cent. In Cleveland it was reported as 307.8 per cent; in Chicago 148.2 per cent; while even in New York and Philadelphia, cities already having the largest Negro population of any cities in the world, the increase was 66.3 per cent and 58.9 per cent respectively. Nevertheless, there has also been a similar increase in southern cities, this migratory movement being a general exodus from the country to the cities. There was an increase of 73.3 per cent for Norfolk, 41.7 per cent for Jacksonville, and 34.3 for Birmingham. Mr. Work, in *The Race Problem in Cross Section*, in the January, 1924, issue of *Social Forces*, reports that the increase of Negro urban population in the South from 1910 to 1920 was 66,000 more than the increase, for the same period, in the number of Negroes who went North from the South. The Census reported a decrease of 3.4 per cent in the total Negro population of rural districts.

The Negro in Cities. Later we shall study the relation between this centering of Negro population in the cities and the whole problem of the evolution of the Negro in physical, social, and mental character. It is important to note here, in addition to the general facts just mentioned, the large number of "Negro cities." The colored district of New York has a little more than a quarter of a million Negroes and the Philadelphia district almost as many. New York, Washington, Chicago, Baltimore, and New Orleans have colored populations of over 100,000. Other northern cities with large Negro populations are Chicago, St. Louis, Columbus, Cincinnati, Pittsburgh, Kansas City, Detroit. While there are no southern cities with as large Negro populations as the northern cities mentioned, there are a number in which more than a third of the total population is black. Charleston has 47.5 per cent; Savannah 47.1; Montgomery 45.6; Jacksonville 45.5; Macon 43.6; Augusta 43.0; Birmingham and Mobile 39.3; Memphis 37.7, these ratios being taken by Professor Reuter from the 1920 Census. It is important to note, however, that most of the Negroes in the South, 74.7 per cent, are still in the rural areas. This brings the aggregate rural Negro population for the whole United States to 66.0 per cent.

Other Facts. Other important facts concerning the Negro population are: the ratio of Negro men to women was 989 to each 1,000 women as contrasted with a ratio of 1,040 men to each 1,000

women for the entire country. This excess of women was particularly large during the ages from ten to twenty-four and among the mulattoes. The median age for the Negro is low and is unfavorably affected by the cityward movement. The mulatto population is reported to be 15.9 per cent of the whole, having decreased from 20.9 per cent in 1910. The ratio of mulattoes to full Negroes is largest in the East North Central, the West North Central, and Pacific divisions, being respectively 20.7 per cent, 18.7 per cent, and 29.3 per cent. The death rate for Negroes, while much higher than for the whites, is rapidly being lowered. In 1910 the death rate for the Negroes was 24.2 per cent, as contrasted with 14.5 per cent for the whites; while in 1921 it had been reduced to 15.9 per cent for the Negroes, as compared with 11.4 per cent for the whites. That is, the Negro death rate now is approximately the same as the white death rate of two decades ago. Professor Work reports that life insurance tables show a lengthening of the life span of insured Negroes.

Economic Aspects. So rapid is the progress being made by the Negro in all fields of American life that the study of these facts is more important than any theories based on conditions that must soon change. Professor Work reports that the property held by Negroes is increasing in value at the rate of fifty million dollars a year and that the property accumulation has increased in value from about twenty million dollars in 1866 to over one and a half billions in 1923. He estimates that the twenty-two million acres which they own constitutes a greater area than the five New England States of New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island. He estimates that the Negroes own more than six hundred thousand homes, or one for every four families. He believes the Negroes as a group are rising in the scale of occupations and that there are few, if any, occupations or types of work in which they are not represented. Of the Negroes at work 45.2 per cent are in agriculture; 22 per cent in domestic and personal service; 18 per cent in manufacturing and industries; 9 per cent in trade and transportation; nearly 2 per cent in professional work, with one or a fraction more per cent in mining, public service, and clerical occupations. Apparently, however, the Negro's status in labor unions and in many economic relations in the North as well as the South is still far from satisfactory.

Education and Cultural Progress. In both general and higher education the Negro has made great progress. Illiteracy has decreased from 70 per cent to 22.9 per cent. Expenditure for Negro education, however, still constitutes only about 2 per cent of the total of the nation's annual education bill. Since 1920 there has been a remarkable revival of interest in the Negro among peoples of varied interests, and his creative efforts in art and literature and his growing race consciousness have been outstanding. There is a growing tendency on the part of Negroes and whites to substitute objective scientific methods and attitudes for the old sentimental bias, both North and South. The swift progress of the Negro along industrial, economic, and cultural lines in some respects helps to "solve" the problem, and in others complicates it. On the whole, it may reasonably be assumed that this rapid movement of the Negro population and their equally rapid progress are likely to prove advantageous to the whites, to the Negroes, to the North, to the South, and to the nation at large. And with this premise and the large body of facts that is now available, perhaps the most important task before America is the study of the Negro situation with the same fair minded attitude and scientific method as this volume is proposing for other social problems.

Special Fields for Study. In addition to using the many opportunities for concrete study of specific situations in specific localities, we suggest the importance of selecting the major fields in which study, research, and application may prove most fruitful. Among these fields are: *general anthropological backgrounds, physical and cultural; folk backgrounds of the Negro in Southern United States; Negro folk music and folk songs; the industrial and economic field; the urbanization of the Negro; legal and social justice; the Negro family; Negro child welfare; public health and hygiene;* and *biographical studies of the Negro common-man.* Thus the emphasis will be placed upon descriptive portraiture and objective attitudes. From these studies policies and relations can be formulated gradually. In a group study of this sort it is well to eliminate all sensitiveness of feeling, all judgments based merely on opinion and beliefs, and many of the premature conclusions which arise from constantly keeping in mind the "problem" element. In the rest of the chapter we wish to emphasize largely the common defects which have stood in the way of studying the Negro as

more than a mere "problem," and the consequent need for newer methods and newer attitudes.

Varied Speculations. Speculations, theories, and methods of "solution" for the "problem" have been offered without intermission. It would be difficult to find an issue which has been the subject of more conflicting opinions, extreme views, and inconsistencies, and for which so many solutions have been offered. Not only have private individuals, editors, authors, and politicians offered their plans, but distinguished educators, statesmen, and judges as well. Sincere thinkers biased by prejudice, earnest philanthropists lacking in judgment, individuals seeking notoriety and reputation, politicians and theorists, together with sane, conservative thinkers and efficient workers have alike contributed to the ridiculous number of solutions proposed. Policies have been outlined, in the adoption of which lay the only salvation of the South and the Negro, while rejection would mean the utter desolation of the land or the annihilation of the Negro. Prophecies and conclusions have been given with consummate confidence and satisfaction. Estimates have been based on "conclusive evidence" where no evidence existed. To realize the full variety of unreason exhibited in the proposed solutions it is only necessary to follow the course of a few major discussions,—those concerning the migratory movements of the Negroes, Negro enfranchisement and disfranchisement, and Negro education, for instance,—and to glance at the political and constitutional history of the United States from 1840 through the reconstruction period. Many of the documents setting forth such measures and policies already appear as curious and entertaining errata. The Negro, however, has survived them all with a good degree of vigor and a hopeful future, and he presents to-day the normal though difficult problem involved in a dynamic situation in economic, political and social development.

Common Fallacies. Among the fallacies commonly met with in the study and discussion of the Negro problem, two may be presented briefly which are relevant to our present discussion. The first fallacy leads both students and public to consider all facts relating to Negroes as characteristic of all Negroes. There are two aspects of this common fallacy which need emphasizing. The first has to do with the student or worker and the second with

the attitude of the public at large. There has been not infrequently a tendency on the part of writers to consider characteristics of the Negro in an absolute manner without distinguishing different groups or stating the limits within which their assertions are valid. Of the unreliability of this something will be said later. On the other hand, efforts and studies are often limited in their effectiveness because of the haste with which specific problems and conditions are confused by the public with the total problem or with the life of the Negro as a whole. It is therefore necessary that the student avoid this fallacy by selecting specific problems and fields for experiment and study in order to reach conclusions just as he does in other projects of broad research or public endeavor. It is also necessary that the public mind accept his results without attempting to apply them to conditions to which they are only indirectly related, and without accusing him of gross inaccuracy because the specific conditions he has portrayed in one field of work do not appear true in wholly different fields. The student may not select as his work in the laboratory the Negroes in certain southern towns and then apply his results to the Negro race everywhere. But after having selected this field and made his investigations and defined his usage of the word Negro as applying only to that group, he may then offer his findings as a partial contribution to the whole subject. Or again, if he desires to make a study of Negro children in the schools, he may investigate and portray certain social and home conditions under which these children live. So far as this study is concerned his facts are essential and representative. But this does not mean that he may apply his results to all Negro homes, or even that he has exhausted his field of research here. He may desire to go further and investigate certain more general conditions of the Negro children's environment and so report certain groups of representative facts that are essential to his purpose, giving all the while their relation to the whole possible group of facts to be obtained. This does not mean that he may apply the facts obtained to the whole group of Negroes. Indeed, it is essential that he define from time to time the application of his results and note differences in other groups. This, however, does not detract from the essential value of the selected facts which he has been able to find as the necessary basis for his work.

Examples. One might apply the principles stated above to new Negro settlements in the North. The Negroes constitute a small percentage of the total population, but are segregated in groups so that in some sections they form a large proportion of the local population. Throughout these communities they come in contact with the whites in work and in various ways. The Negro population has increased rapidly within the last few years, sometimes by more than 50 per cent in a year. Such a large growth is brought about not by natural increase but by congregate grouping chiefly of immigrants from near-by Southern States. The composition of the Negro population is further widely varied by the diverse types found in the United States. Again, the Negro population has a preponderance of young people between the ages of fifteen and thirty years, with a small number of young people under fifteen years and a still smaller mumber of children under five. The preponderance of females is even more abnormal and the largest excess is between the ages of fifteen and twenty-five years. Furthermore, irregular home and family conditions exist to a large extent; the families are relatively small and unstable; there is only slightly more overcrowding than among the whites, but many aggravated cases; the Negroes have to occupy inferior homes and pay relatively higher rents; they are limited in the scope of their occupations, being restricted mostly to general labor and domestic services, while at the same time they often receive less wages than the whites who perform similar work. Living conditions and habits tend to lower the already low standard of home life and limit the opportunities for good constructive living. The Negroes own little property, and property owners for the most part are engaged in the same sorts of occupations as non-property owners. Private and social habits, health conditions and crime are such as to involve endless difficulties in the progress of the Negroes and their relation to the whites about them. In all phases of life the Negro woman is unusually prominent. The church furnishes a center for a large part of their social activities, though it is supplemented by numerous organizations and miscellaneous means of amusement. From every possible standpoint of Negro life, conditions are especially difficult for the training of children and for the children themselves. Segregated thus, and living under wholly different conditions from those of the larger body of

whites, their environment may be said to be a separate environment.

Other Qualifying Conditions. Other aspects of the social situation of the Negroes are important but cannot be included in a brief summary of the principal facts of population and general environment. These aspects include all the details of the physical and social life which the Negroes live, and their larger economic, social, and political relation to the whites. The fact that each detail furnishes in itself a field for special research shows the complexity of any selected problem dealing with the Negro. What of the results of social and political maladjustment? What of crime and pauperism? What of the details of diet, rest, recreation, sex life, and health? How much depravity really exists? What of heredity, insanity, feeble-mindedness and suicide? How far can the causes for conditions be ascertained? Again all the questions of domestic service and efficiency, of race contact and admixture, of the rights and wrongs of discrimination enter largely into the full consideration of the Negro in the city. The political aspect itself constitutes a large problem. Again, how much is the Negro discriminated against by charitable and religious institutions? What social forces from without are active in his behalf? What social forces can he bring to bear from within to give him social control? Such are the questions that suggest themselves almost without number. The answer to only a few of these must not be confused with the total solution, nor with any broader theoretical consideration of traits or tendencies, both physical and mental. These will come in their place.

Traditional Estimates. Perhaps the oldest and most common method of forming judgments about the Negro has been that of abstract race estimate. On the one hand, there has been an assumption of the innate equality of mankind, disregarding specific differences in mind, body, race, and other conditions. On the other is the traditional assumption of race inferiority, which disregards the factors of development and environmental influence. In the United States the most common illustration of this first attitude has been the extreme northern view toward the Negro, expressed in common assertions that the Negro was the "equal" or superior of the whites. This attitude, of course, has not been without its numerous exceptions. In the Southern States the

second attitude has been illustrated by the common assumption that the Negro is in all respects inferior to the whites, and in extreme instances the assertion that he was little more than an animal. These views have been supported variously, on the one hand by the abstract conceptions of philosophy, and by calling attention to Negro lives and actions of exceptional superiority; and on the other by practical experiences and references to the achievements of white civilization, together with instances of exceptional inferiority among Negroes. Extreme examples have been cited on both sides, and Scripture has been brought forth as authority in measurements of race value. The chronicles of these various estimates constitute a peculiar literature in the history of the United States.

Type and Mass. Among the most interesting of all estimates passed upon the Negro has been the picturesque portrayal of the ante-bellum type as a standard of measurement for the whole race. Such estimates have influenced the mass of opinion, and have constituted a literature of considerable extent. This class of character portrayal is well illustrated by the works of Joel Chandler Harris, Thomas Nelson Page, and others, and reflects not only the true character of the Negro in a particular setting, but also the spirit of the time. Perhaps the most common attempts to estimate the character and achievements of the Negro have been found in those opinions and studies which represent the whole of the race by a few of its members. There are three important divisions of this method. First, the development of the Negro has been measured by the chosen few. Here the exceptional deeds of exceptional individuals in this country and the world over have been cited as the standard of achievement, regardless of any mixture of white blood on the one hand, or of the great mass of the race on the other. Second, the development of the Negro has been measured by the misdeeds of the submerged group, and the fact that this group is large and furnishes an unusually large amount of crime and disease has led to the conclusion that such a group represents the final stage of Negro development. The third division of this method of measurement is found in the tendency to judge the entire race, and the possibilities of the race, by the great mass of contemporary individuals, thus substituting life under a single set of conditions for the many variations and achieve-

ments of the Negro in history. Along with these common estimates there has been a tendency also not only to limit judgment to a part of the group but to limit it to outward appearances only, or to single traits or characteristics.

Aggregates and Status. Another commonly accepted standard of measuring the development of the Negro has been that of estimating progress in terms of aggregates. The Negro has been free for six decades, and has accumulated so many millions of dollars worth of property: therefore, he has made so much progress. He has had sixty years of freedom, and has produced so many leaders, so many professional men, and so many skilled workers: therefore, he has made such and such progress. This method is perhaps best illustrated by the writings of Negro leaders themselves. While this is a very valuable method of measuring achievement it leaves out distribution and ignores comparative influences and conditions as well as undesirable achievements. Perhaps the majority of the recent studies of the Negro have attempted to measure his status in terms of conditions and manner of life, classified according to the customary mode of listing activities: the Negro at home; in business; at church; at school; in politics; his general economic condition; his health and housing; his income and expenditures; and his social life, with whatever other activites that may be accepted as an index of social conditions. Still other studies have attempted to measure conditions of to-day by contrasting them with past conditions of the Negro in this country, and results have been given to show that the Negro has made great steps forward, while other results indicate that he has deteriorated. Still other comparisons are made between the Negro in Africa and in America, and as worked out by Hall, Starr, Tillinghast, Ellis, and others these constitute valuable scientific data.

More Scientific Study. Although for the most part the above mentioned standards of measurement have contributed something to the knowledge of the Negro race, and to the improvement of conditions and to a better understanding of the problem as a whole, nevertheless the question arises as to whether the scientific student of race conditions and race development must not, if he is to achieve results of the highest value, use more clearly defined and objective methods. First of all, suppose a study of race development be

considered from the viewpoint of growth, and the Negro be looked at as a child race, or as an adolescent race, following the methods suggested by President Hall, the late Professor Chamberlain, Professor McDougall, and others. Suppose, again, that the list of juvenile traits as suggested by Meumann be listed as units of comparison, and certain traits of the Negro race be compared with these. Or suppose the evidence of recapitulation be submitted as a standard by which the white and Negro races are to be compared. Or suppose again that certain mental traits such as memory and reasoning, concretism, suggestibility, and impressionability, attention, perception; or certain instincts such as play, imitation, collecting, vocalization, emotionalism, lack of rationalism; or again qualities of physical growth and development, be listed as standards by which development is to be measured. The principles involved here would necessitate that the student first of all obtain the best possible list of child qualities and that he then ascertain with scientific precision at least some of the qualities of the race considered, determining his results, according to the number and dominance of these latter qualities which tend to conform to his listed standards. It cannot be doubted that such a method applied concretely to the Negro race with scientific accuracy would be of great value.

Traits and Character. A second standard of measurement is found in the enumeration of primitive traits, such as may be found in Sumner's *Folkways*, in Tylor, Morgan, Webster, Boas, and many others. In this instance the student must select his objective units of primitive traits, such as, for instance, those relating to kinship, marriage, the home, the family, sex, old age, youth, morals, manners, the mores, taboo, animism, religion, superstition, slavery, selection. He must then judge the race studied according as its characteristics conform to or diverge from the described primitive standards. That race development can to some extent be measured in this way is very probable, and the method lends itself to objective results. Other important standards of measurement will be found in the study of personality, character, and societal value. First consult the classification of population offered by Galton and Ammon, in which the upper and lower strata of the great middle class constitute the modal class by which one society may be compared with another. If the

mid line of population represents the great body of the masses there will be above it the upper or better part of the middle class, above this special talent, and at the top genius; while below will be the lower half of the great middle class, shading down into the unskilled and illiterate group and further below into the potentially dependent or proletariat class, while at the bottom will be found the defective, dependent, and delinquent classes. Thus the current progress of a group would be measured by the proportion of its members who were rising out of the lower grades of the classification to increase the great middle class and especially the upper grades.

Vitality Classes. Another standard of grouping by which a population may be measured in social classes is that of the personality and vitality classes listed by Professor Giddings. The vitality classes are the physically normal, with high, medium, and low vitality subclasses; and the defective, with subclasses of the blind, the deaf and dumb, and the congenitally deformed. The mentality classes are similarly divided into the normal, who may be of low, medium, or high intelligence; and the mentally abnormal, subdivided into the neurotic, insane, and idiotic. The morality classes are the moral and immoral, with subclassifications for the first of low, medium, and high morality, and for the second of the unmoral, vicious, and depraved. The sociality classes are the social, with low, medium, and high divisions; and the unsocial, classed as the deindividualized, the desocialized, and the degraded. So far as objective statistics are available such a standard of measurement ought to be applied extensively in studying the development and progress of the Negroes. Again, types of social character as standards of measurement have been proposed and to a considerable extent applied by Professors Ross of Wisconsin, Thomas of Chicago, and Bailey of Sewanee. The first of these provides for a study of race psychology as reflected in prevailing characteristics or tendencies among which are belief in luck, addiction to charms, myths, superstition, looking into the future, thrift, calculation, control of instinct and impulses, diligence and application, sympathy to persons and ideals, faithfulness to contract, intellectual foresight, notions of disease, care of health, taste for rhetoric and imagery, religious emotionalism, stick-to-it-iveness, anxiety and worry about the future, love-making and courtship, control

of liquor habits, amusement and recreation, taste in newspapers, use of spending money, behavior at funerals, coöperation, distrust and lying, and others, as listed in Professor Ross's publications. The second of the methods of characterization, proposed by Professor Thomas, attempts to determine how a race rises from one level of culture to another, and which races are fit to progress, keeping in mind at the same time the whole question of backwardness. This standard of measurement emphasizes social rather than biological or economic aspects, and measures such factors as attention, interest, stimulation, imitation, occupational differentiation, mental attitude, accessibility to opportunity. In the questionnaire standard of measurement fifty-eight queries are listed; as a "tool" it provides a good means of study but is difficult to reduce to objective terms.

General Principles and Programs of Relationships. We close the chapter with the simple statement of a type of practical interracial relationship to be worked out between the white and Negro races. Its first principle is *the welfare of all the people*, brought about by a participating, sharing, coöperative effort of both races, in which shall be recognized alike a joint responsibility, a joint obligation, and a joint opportunity for high serving and plain working. Such a joint obligation, however, does not exempt either race from its own individual or group responsibility. The second principle to be stated is a *sane leadership* by the many strong and good leaders rather than an *unwise leadership* by the few weak and ignorant leaders of both races. It is critically important at this time that the strong and good leaders of the Negro race, and the great mass of Negro citizens as well, should be accorded such consideration at the hands of the strong and good leaders of the white race, and of the great mass of sound-hearted white citizens as well, that they will follow, rather the constructive leadership of both races, instead of the destructive leadership of any group. The third principle is the clear recognition that problems of race relations are very real and very difficult problems. Race problems have always been and will always be very real and very difficult. They cannot be solved by sentimentality nor by superficial ideas and makeshift efforts not based upon organic principles. Neither will they work themselves out by being ignored and let alone. Recognition by both races, in frank and honest fashion, of the difficulties

involved will pave the way for statesmanlike constructive efforts. The fourth principle is found in the *recognition of the need for methods and avenues of approach and contact that are permanent, definite, complete and fundamental.* It must be very clear that problems of race relations and the public good, if they are to be worked out by strong and good leadership in a statesmanlike manner, must be analyzed with clearness and approached through effective avenues of institutional, united and organized effort. The same avenues which will bring about happiness and progress for the white people may be counted on to become effective for the Negro population as well. Permanence, too, in all aspects of the public good, must be kept in mind. Weakness on the part of one race, even though temporary, in the fundamental relations of life and labor will bring harm to members of the other race; while strength in the one race, however exhibited, will contribute strength to all the people. Completeness, therefore, also is important, both in making the necessary analysis of approach and in the programs of work. Using the same institutional basis which we have used in the earlier chapters of this book, we may set forth a simple and practical basis for a program of race relations.

The Home and Family; Housing Conditions and Health; Standards of Living. Without adequate housing conditions, good health, and good surroundings in the home, neither the individual nor the race will go forward as it well might in this day and generation. Progress in individual and community life and in race relations will scarcely be achieved over the barriers of disease, poor health, wrong living conditions, insanitary surroundings, immorality, preventable death. Happiness and success are dependent upon health, housing, homes. Good homes for whites and good homes for the Negroes are closely related, just as are bad housing for the Negroes and similar conditions among the whites. We have never measured the untold waste, social and economic loss, suffering and inefficiency that come from improper home and housing conditions and from sickness. Nor is this a problem for one race. In the considerable number of studies that have been made, conditions of housing and health have been found to be a problem not of one race, but of two. There is a divided responsibility; but there is perhaps more of a joint responsibility. It will take the best efforts of both races in the promotion of more knowl-

edge, more care and conscience, more plans and better programs of action, and more fidelity in standing by and carrying on the common problems of the public good. It is not sufficient for one race to say to another, in substance: "Here, this is your job; attend to these housing conditions"; or "Here, this is your problem, give us better health." But rather, must all people, working together, with high standards and respect for the personality of individuals and the welfare of the community, bring about the desired results.

The School and Education. The school program for the Negro makes much progress. It will make much more progress when members and communities of both races will coöperate fully in carrying out its provisions and in making effective its aims. There can be no good in ignorance and its accompanying results of shiftlessness, disease, crime, backwardness. It will be difficult to develop an integrity of race consciousness or a stability of type when part of the race is being schooled and part is not. It will be difficult to prepare a race for progress in fulfilling their industrial and agricultural needs, without education and equipment which will make for high-grade work and achievement. It will be difficult to teach the Negro population well without a willingness on the part of both races to see that better teachers are provided, that more supervision is afforded; and that better equipment is secured and maintained intact and in good condition. It will be difficult to develop a race of strong, clean-minded, and clean-bodied people unless health instruction and health practice shall be available in the school and in extension education. It will be difficult to promote ideals of thrift, of honor, of morality, and of finer living unless the school, through proper organization and application, shall inculcate these virtues continuously and consistently in accordance with high standards of race integrity and pride. With pride of race comes also the obligation of patriotism—pride in state and community,—and allegiance to the fundamental principles of the good life. And in all this program what will the institutions of higher learning do toward providing leadership and toward the promotion of right public opinion?

What Will the Churches Do? The whole program of better race relationship and welfare is presumably based upon the principles and practices of Christianity. What will the churches

do to carry this program further than it has been carried before? What will the white churches do to promote the Christian spirit of charity and tolerance and of hopefulness and of justice? What will the Negro churches do toward realizing a more vital and active Christianity, a clearer understanding of the problems of race relationships and of social welfare, a saner and more intelligent patience and earnestness? What will the Sunday schools do toward teaching the principles and practices of Christianity to the younger, as well as to the older members? To what extent will the ministers of the churches coöperate in bringing about more knowledge and better relationships? To what extent will the ministers, well trained and willing to serve, become the leaders of the new day? To what extent will the churches, sometimes feeling their loss of influence or their weakened grasp of problems, seize this greatest of opportunities to revitalize the spirit of Christianity?

Government and Laws. One of the great tests of government is its ability to render service, administer justice, and promote the welfare of its people. Another test is its ability and readiness to make and enforce good laws. But the government is not something apart from the people; government is of, for, and by the people here and now. The government can scarcely be better or stronger than its communities and the people who are its component parts. Just as service and justice must be measured and extended to the people of a community in accordance with their own qualities, and degree of participation, so they can hardly be made more complete than the will and abilities of the citizens of the several communities which constitute a commonwealth. Here again is a problem for both races and for all groups. It is important alike that the Negro race and the white race obey the laws of community and state and nation and that they prepare themselves for citizenship and for the rendering of service to others as well as receiving service from the government. Preparation for service and citizenship is as much the prerequisite of one group as it is another. The willingness to abide by law is as essential to the one as to the other. Wherever law is broken there ensues civic tragedy. The rendering of injustice to any group must inevitably result in the deterioration of the other group, and therefore to injustice. The breaking of the law by one group must inevitably result at later times in the ineffectiveness of law to serve that group or any

other group. Law and government are fundamental, structural, and essential techniques for promoting and maintaining the public good. They must therefore render justice, serve the people, grow more perfect.

Industry and Work. Work is a law of life. Industry becomes one of society's effective institutions. Without work there would be no success, progress, or happiness. But work is often conditioned largely by health. There can be no full measure of work and success without their basis of fresh energies and abilities found in sound bodies and clean surroundings. Thousands and hundreds of thousands of hours and dollars and opportunities are lost because of a poor groundwork of health. Hence comes again the call to make the economic foundations strong by good health and sanitation. Work also depends largely on the conditions under which it is carried on. The spirit of the employer and the measure of his pay and his sympathy go far in increasing its efficiency, just as the spirit of rendering value received and of coöperation on the part of the worker go far toward making employment permanent and remunerative. Conditions on the farm and in the farm home are important. Better working conditions and better tenant homes should bring about and be accompanied by more production and more happiness. They are perhaps the first basis upon which to rest appeals for better relations in towns and cities, since fair play will be accompanied by greater production, more prosperity, and a higher development on the part of Negro workers. Fairness in service should then bring about fairness in treatment and pay. Time, energy, faithfulness, and justice are the essentials of progress here, as elsewhere.

The Community. There is perhaps universal agreement as to the truth of all the general principles involved in the relationships of home and family, school and education, church and religion, government and law, work and industry. Few individuals or racial groups will for a moment doubt the inevitable law of cause and effect as it relates to the principles we have just stated. There is also agreement, of course, as to the importance of health and housing, happiness and success, schooling and knowledge, worship and better race relations, and the others. But we have too long considered them as matters for the individual. They are, rather, matters for the community and cannot be separated from

it. There is no family which can be isolated in the community, and no community can evade its responsibility for good health, for good living conditions, for good working conditions, for good race relations. What about the community's interests as between the races? What about the community's responsibility for recreation and the profitable use of idle moments? What about the community's responsibility for their opposites—for the places of filth and the vicious use of spare time? What about the community's responsibility for a health program? or a work program? or a program of better relations and the coöperation of leaders in school, church, work, community, justice?

The New Negro. One of the most encouraging signs and developments in the American scene is the newer scientific interest which is taking the place of the old sentimental viewpoint concerning the Negro. On the part of both races, North and South, there is apparent a tendency to substitute descriptive and objective facts for the argumentative, emotional, and subjective attitudes of former days. Under the old régime the Negro has continuously acted the unnatural part, and has not known himself as he really is. The white man has neither seen nor understood the Negro nor contemplated the possibilities of knowing him as he is. Nor has the white group considered objectively the possibilities of Negro development and progress so much as it has patronized him with sentimental attitudes on the one hand or age-past traditions on the other. And the Negro has appeared lost in the contest, now to one extreme and now another. Nor has the white man gained. It is a day of great promise when both groups enter upon a new era of the rediscovery of the Negro and when there is a renaissance of the scientific search after truth, with a willingness to face facts, whether found in the more primitive background evidence or in the newer creative urge. It is a large and promising task, therefore, of immediate and ultimate possibilities, to set up categories for this search after objective and descriptive data. Timely emphasis has been placed upon this task by Alain Locke in *The New Negro*, which he has edited and to which he has brought more than a score of examples of documentary evidence, including Paul Kellogg's interesting appraisal of the northern migration movement as an important stimulus in the Nation's rediscovery of the Negro. Mr. Locke says in his

introduction: "Whoever wishes to see the Negro in his essential traits, in the full perspective of his achievement and possibilities, must seek the enlightenment of that self-portraiture which the present development of the Negro culture offers." It will be the task, however, of the special student to study further into the progress of the Negro in literature and the fine arts and his newer development in all the fields of American life.

FOR FURTHER STUDY

For Information

1. Is the Negro population in the United States increasing more rapidly or less rapidly than the white population?
2. What are the outstanding developments of the Negro situation in the United States within the last decade?
3. What are the largest Negro centers of population in the United States?
4. In what cities in the United States has the percentage of increase in Negro population been greatest?
5. Does the cityward migration apply in the South as well as in the North?

For Stimulating Thought

6. To what do you attribute the more wholesome attitudes and relations between whites and Negroes in the southern states to-day?
7. Discuss the fundamental part played by race prejudice and race relations.
8. Criticize the following conclusion: Rating of Negro children in the schools of Philadelphia according to school grade and intelligence tests shows them much retarded as compared with the whites. They are, therefore, of inferior ability.
9. Criticize the following conclusion: The ratio of arrest among Negroes in Memphis, Tennessee, in 1905 was far greater than among whites. The Negro, therefore, is more criminal than the white.
10. What is the fallacy involved in judging all Negroes by the upper minority or the submerged tenth?

Research and Creative Writing

11. Write up the story of a Negro bad man.

12. Write a short biography of some Negro man or woman of outstanding merit.
13. Make a study of examples of justice and injustice rendered to Negroes.
14. Make a study of family disorganization among Negroes of a given community.
15. Present case studies of twenty Negro juvenile offenders.

For Practical Application

16. Read Van Vechten's *Nigger Heaven*, and discuss the influence of Harlem upon the social evolution of the Negro.
17. What proportion of white people in the usual American community is acquainted with its Negro life?
18. Draw up a community program for health.
19. Outline a plan for better opportunities in training for Negro physicians and Negro nurses.
20. Make a study of the Rosenwald schools of a southern state.

For Continuity of Effort

21. Discuss the work of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.
22. Make a study of several numbers of *Opportunity*, a journal of Negro life.
23. What are the fields of work to which the National Urban League is devoted?
24. Describe school facilities for Negroes in a specific city, county, or state.
25. What is the attitude of modern white youth towards the Negro in America?

For Effective Reading

26. For special study: Reuter's *The American Race Problem*, Dowd's *The Negro in American Life*, Woofter's *The Basis of Racial Adjustment*, Locke's *The New Negro*, Odum and Johnson's *Negro Workaday Songs*.
27. For sampling or exhaustive reading: Brawley, Caldwell, Daniel, Detweiler, Dowd, DuBois, Hammond, Johnson, J. W., Jones, T. J., King, W. J., Locke, Mossell, Odum, Oldham, Puckett, Reed, Reuter, Scarborough, Scott, E. J., Seligman, H. J., Wetherford, Woodson, Woofter.

CHAPTER XIII

IMMIGRATION AND SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

Race and Immigration. Many of the problems and situations which arise from immigration and the general movement of diverse population groups are closely related to the problems of race. Some of the intersocial situations have already been studied in our chapter on *Race and Society*. That is, in listing the forty or more ethnic strains which go to make up the population of the United States, we laid the groundwork for the future study of certain groups of people, more or less homogeneous biologically and living under fairly uniform physical and social environment. Mr. N. D. M. Hirsch, in his study of *Natio-Racial Mental Differences*, emphasizes this diversity of our population by suggesting that the most important human unit is neither the nation nor race, but as Professor Huntington puts it, the stock. To confirm this view, Mr. Hirsch finds great variation of intelligence according to ethnic strains, ranking the Polish Jews with an I. Q. of 102.8 per cent as the highest and the Portuguese as the lowest with 82.7. In the order of high scoring then follow the Swedes, English, Russian-Jews, Germans, Americans (Anglo-Saxon), Lithuanians, Irish, British-Canadians, Russians, Poles, Greeks, Italians, French-Canadians, Negroes. Thus our American immigration problem is, after all, closely related to our race problem. In the preceding chapter we gave special attention to the Negro, and we may begin now our study of immigration with concrete reference to other races, especially to the Japanese and Chinese, who constitute the chief racial basis of our immigration problems.

Oriental Immigration. The problem of oriental immigration in America centers largely in the Pacific Coast states, and deals primarily with the Chinese, Japanese, and a few East Indians or Hindus. In addition to the usual problems in this field the immigration of Asiatics involves differences in racial stock, and national tradition and far lower standards of living and work. It is easy to see how, in earlier days, Chinese and Japanese immigrants

secured a strong foothold in California and other coastal states. They were hardy and good workers. They were willing to work for low wages. They provided their own subsistence and attended to their own business. For a long time they constituted the greater part of the working population in some areas. They worked well in the fisheries, on the railroads, in agriculture, in laundries, as merchants; and later many became land and property owners. They have rented and bought land at high rates, they have formed partnerships among themselves and financed their own projects, and they have paid high wages to laborers on their own farms. The occupations of Japanese aliens admitted during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1920, included more than fifteen professional groups such as actors, architects, clergy, editors, engineers, lawyers, literary and scientific persons, musicians, physicians, and teachers. There were more than thirty kinds of the skilled workers, from bakers and barbers to watchmakers and weavers; while more than a dozen other miscellaneous classes were represented. Thus Japanese immigration involves many social situations other than the mere acquisition of population.

Race Conflict. The situation in California between the white races and the yellow races has often been compared with that in the South, where the "Negro problem" has played so great a part. There are, of course, more unlike than like phases of the situation. It was natural that conflict should grow up between the white and yellow races as the numbers increased and economic competition became more marked. The underbidding of the orientals in the matter of wages and their overbidding in the purchase of land and renting of property, their demands for schooling and equal opportunities, and various other points of contact easily led to the usual race conflicts. Along with this was the problem of the intermingling of races, and particularly that of having a large and increasing number of non-assimilable peoples, thus forming what might be called a compound civilization. It was also natural that there should develop exclusion laws of varying sorts. The number of Chinese in Continental United States decreased, consequently, from 89,863 in 1900 to 61,688 in 1920. On the other hand, the Japanese increased from 24,326 in 1900 to 111,025 in 1920. Of these over 70,000 were found in California, many of whom are permanent residents, owning property and living

prosperously with their families. According to the 1920 Census almost one-fourth of the Japanese population were female. During the two decades from 1899 to 1920 there were admitted to the United States a total of 41,853 Chinese. The number of Japanese admitted during the same two decades aggregated 232,467.

Present Restrictions. The discussions centering around policies of the exclusion of Asiatics have been much before the public in late years. Some criticisms of these policies will be given at the end of the chapter in connection with the criticisms of America's general immigration policy. The climax of the matter was found in the gentleman's agreement and later in the exclusion clause in the immigration act of 1924, which in turn was the product of a great deal of agitation and race conflict in California. The southern attitude towards the Negro and the color situation in California, together with the increase of Japanese immigrants,—about 17,000 in a single year,—gave effective basis for agitation. The gentleman's agreement grew out of a resolution of Congress which permitted the President to refuse entrance into the United States of individuals coming to the United States from neighboring countries or insular possessions of the United States. There followed a general understanding between Japan and the United States that Japan would issue passports only to non-laborers. Such an agreement does not limit the immigration so much as it improves its quality. The later injection of the race question into the situation and the general realization that mixed marriages were not successful, that the Japanese system of family life is different, that refusal to admit them as citizens kept them as an isolated foreign group, led to the final exclusion clause. The Japanese and many Americans looked upon this legislation as a piece of racial discrimination and the expression of an antiquated policy. The student may later study its effect upon the relation of the two nations and upon general social problems.

The Causes of Immigration. The problems of oriental immigration, while differing in certain particulars in the American situation, involve, nevertheless, many of the fundamental backgrounds which are found in other problems of immigration, emigration, and migration. For the migrations of peoples may be listed as one of the constant phenomena of all times and civilizations. The modern causes of emigration from one country to

another are found in the overpopulation of certain countries, in adverse living conditions, in general restlessness, and in the attractive or seemingly attractive conditions found in other lands. The American problem has a very interesting and normal historical development from the early days, when persecuted peoples sought freedom and expansion, when the spirit of adventure and the discovery of new lands made powerful appeals, and when America offered herself as an asylum for all the oppressed. During the earlier days of America the first immigrants were largely from England, Ireland and Scotland; then later from France, Germany and Britain came large numbers looking for a new type of freedom, to escape not only from material discomfort but from political conditions which were unsatisfactory.

For the student to understand the larger problem of immigration it is only necessary for him to see how closely its historical aspects are related to the whole fabric of American civilization. Like the question of the Negro, the discussion of immigration in this country has constituted a rich literature full of contrasts, prophesies, statistics, and concerned with varied legal, civic, and ethical aspects.

Historical Aspects of Immigration. Miss Edith Abbott, in her *Historical Aspects of the Immigration Problem*, lists 201 valuable documents for the study of immigration under five general divisions. She cites forty-seven original papers to illustrate conditions in the United Kingdom and Northern Europe which led to emigration. Concerning the economic aspects of the immigration problem she presents forty-six articles; she gives twenty-eight sources on early problems of assimilation; thirty-six on pauperism, crime, and other domestic immigration problems; and forty-four on general public opinion and the immigrant. So large is the amount of excellent material now available for the study of the immigration problem that the student has no excuse for limiting his ultimate judgment and effort by mere opinion or the use of only local data. It is necessary, however, that he picture in his mind, in an elementary way, some of the chief issues involved before he undertakes to work out his final conclusions.

The Basis of America's Policy. The early history of America must, after all, be largely a story of immigration. As time goes it was but yesterday that the first settlers came over to find a new land. Then came others, and still others, until the nucleus of a new

nation became the nation itself. And since its first organization the United States has received millions of migrants from other countries, has welcomed them to its economic and social opportunities, has invited them to enjoy its wider freedom, and has taken them in for better or for worse. The fabric of America's population today is the fabric of mixed groups which have woven their physical stamina, their ideals and their wealth on the loom of the new world. First small numbers, then increasing numbers, then successive waves, until peaks went mountain-high. The rise and fall of a half-dozen large waves may be observed since 1854. From a few more than 400,000 immigrants in that year, the number sank down to less than 100,000 in 1862, then rose again in 1873 to nearly 500,000. From this point down steadily again to around 150,000 in 1877–1878, then rapidly up to nearly 800,000 in 1882. There were varying depressions in 1886, 1895, 1898, from which latter date there was a most rapid rise until the highest point was reached at more than a million and a quarter in 1907. Again the number sank back to less than 800,000 in 1909, then rose to over a million in 1910, dropped back to less than 900,000 in 1911, and increased again to nearly a million and a quarter in 1914. Then came the war, and by 1918 and 1919 the total had sunk back to near the 100,000 mark. Finally, it rose again rapidly in 1921 to 800,000 at which date began the evolution of our present immigration law.

Two Decades of Immigrant Streams. The story of modern American immigration may be studied further by a glance at the total numbers of immigrants admitted into the United States during the last two decades prior to 1920, classified according to race or country of origin. If the student wishes to follow the curve of variation by different years, as indicated by the totals in the previous paragraph, he may find it in Table 15 of the Annual Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1920.

TOTAL IMMIGRANT ALIENS ADMITTED TO THE UNITED STATES, June 30, 1899–1920

Race or People	*Total Admissions*	*Highest Year*
African (black)	100,101	1914
Armenian	58,332	1913
Bohemian and Moravian (Czech)	142,084	1906

Race of People	*Total Admissions*	*Highest Year*
Bulgarian, Serbian, and Montenegrin	151,646	1907
Chinese	41,853	1904
Croatian and Slovenian	462,261	1907
Cuban	72,048	1905
Dalmatian, Bosnian, and Herzegovinian	50,032	1907
Dutch and Flemish	175,704	1913
East Indian	7,348	1910
English	828,140	1920
Finnish	213,121	1903
French	294,502	1920
German	1,100,058	1907
Greek	455,385	1907
Hebrew	1,565,607	1906
Irish	679,765	1905
Italian (north)	551,348	1909
Italian (south)	2,898,499	1914
Japanese	232,467	1917
Korean	8,839	1905
Lithuanian	257,027	1907
Magyar	462,249	1917
Mexican	248,859	1920
Pacific Islander	1,109	1900
Polish	1,423,290	1913
Portuguese	158,827	1920
Roumanian	137,682	1914
Russian	239,735	1913
Ruthenian (Russniak)	260,298	1913
Scandanavian (Norwegians, Danes, and Swedes)	835,210	1905
Scotch	300,973	1911
Slovak	484,110	1905
Spanish	154,005	1920
Spanish American	31,573	1920
Syrian	93,018	1913
Turkish	21,041	1914
Welsh	36,131	1913
West Indian (except Cuban)	23,050	1904
Other Peoples	34,157	1914

The 1924 Immigration Act. The present law was thus an act of defense against the promised flood tide of European immigration which should carry the wave far higher than in previous crests. It was evident that some restriction must be made. Previous acts of 1921 and 1922, while reducing greatly the number of immigrants who could come into the country, still permitted from three to four hundred thousand annually. The 1921–22 law limited the number of immigrants in each year to three per cent of each nationality which was resident in the United States in 1910. The 1924 act changed the quota basis to two per cent of the total number of foreign-born individuals of each nationality who were living in continental United States in 1890. It was expected that this would reduce the maximum number to less than a quarter million a year. In July, 1927, the quota basis will be changed to two per cent of the foreign-born white population in the United States in 1920, classified according to national origin. The act of 1924, the culmination of years of discussion and agitation as well as of the immediate influence of the war, had for one of its purposes the reduction of the immigration from southern and eastern Europe and the increasing of the ratio from northern and western Europe. Thus the Census of 1890 was chosen as a basis. Other provisions of the act were intended to bring about coöperation with foreign countries before the embarkation of emigrants and to prevent the separation of families. Nevertheless, many unfortunate incidents occur, some of which will be cited presently.

What Is an Immigrant? Baker-Crothers and Hudnut define an immigrant as any alien departing from a place outside the United States and destined for the United States. Interpreting the 1924 act, they make the following exceptions:

Government officials, their families, and various assistants.

Temporary residents.

Aliens in continuous transit through the United States.

Aliens lawfully admitted to the United States who later went in transit from one part of the country to another through foreign contiguous territory.

A bona fide alien seaman serving on a vessel arriving in the United States and seeking to enter this country in pursuit of his calling as seaman.

An alien entitled to enter the United States in pursuance of his trade and under the provisions of an existing treaty of commerce and navigation.

The non-quota immigrants included the following groups:

The unmarried child under eighteen or the wife of a citizen of the United States living in the United States.

An immigrant previously lawfully admitted to the United States who was returning from a temporary visit abroad.

An immigrant born in the Dominion of Canada, Newfoundland, or in the central or southern American countries not under foreign control and his wife, and unmarried children under eighteen years of age.

An immigrant employed as a minister or professor who sought to carry on his profession in the United States and who had been engaged in his calling for at least two years continuously prior to his application for admission to this country, and his wife or unmarried children under eighteen years of age.

Students fifteen years of age or over who sought to enter the United States for the purposes of study.

Restricted Classes. Most of the advocates of unrestricted immigration agree as to some policies of selection. President Wilson, who opposed too drastic restriction, interpreted America's policy as opening its doors to all except those who were not fitted for citizenship because of mental, moral or physical unsoundness. Other important phases of the 1924 act will be found in the selective clauses which, gathering their momentum from the first acts of 1882, have resulted in a large number of exclusive qualifications. One of these has to do with illiterates, concerning whom the officials may exercise a certain amount of discretion. Accredited officials of foreign governments, with their families, are exempted from all such provisions. The other main classes excluded comprise,—referring again to *Problems of Citizenship*,—the following:

The mentally disabled and persons afflicted with chronic alcoholism, tuberculosis or other loathsome and dangerous contagious disease.

Persons unable to earn a living because of mental or physical disability and those likely to become public charges or already in the pauper or vagrant group.

Criminal classes.

Anarchists. Other radical individuals or members of organizations opposed to organized government and advocating its overthrow by force and violence, advocating the propriety of assaulting or killing officials of organized government, and advocating the damage or destruction of property, etc.

Contract laborers, either skilled or unskilled.

Unaccompanied children under sixteen unless coming to their parents or unless admitted if otherwise eligible by the Secretary of Labor.

Stowaways, except any stowaway who might be admitted at the discretion of the Secretary of Labor if otherwise eligible.

Persons deported under any provisions of our immigration laws.

The greater part of the people living on the continent of Asia proper and adjacent islands.

Immigrant Cases. It is clear that any law which makes such drastic restrictions and so many sudden changes would be difficult to enforce and would work hardship in a number of instances. Such has been the case. There is, for instance, the example of a young woman, a naturalized citizen and resident of the United States for many years, who having worked hard had attained a good standing in her community and had acquired considerable savings. Going abroad to visit the old country, she loses her passport but proves her identity, and comes back to the United States only to be detained at Ellis Island. From this point she is refused admittance, and although the authorities are aware of her record and a duplicate of the passport, she is deported from the United States a homeless person, without a country. Another example is that of the father of an American citizen who comes over from England. Son and father have planned this visit to America for a number of years and have apparently made all provisions. The father arrives and is detained for some days at Ellis Island and the son, although having given the due bond, is required to place actual Liberty Bonds on deposit before he can secure the release of his father. The well known Countess Cathcart case created a great deal of discussion, satire and ridicule because of the particular method by which the immigration authorities attempted to administer moral censorship. Another example was that of a musician, who many years ago had come from Canada through a regular channel of exchange in answer to an employment advertisement, but was deported because of this record. Professor Woolston calls attention to the fact that neither the distinguished Gandhi or Dr. Koo could be admitted to America under any quota, the one being in the barred zone of Asia and the other in China. These examples, which are notable as matters of technical interpretation, are, however, not so tragic as many cases in which families are

separated and inhuman hardships are imposed through no fault of the immigrant. True, it may be the fault of the authorities on the other side, but it is important for the American student of government and social policy to look further into ways of avoiding such situations.

Criticisms of the American Policy. The passage of the 1921 and 1922 acts was by way of emergency relief to avoid congestion of the foreign-born and the crowding of the labor market during the depression following the war. The 1924 act, growing out of this and other post-war reactions, is considered by many students to be also a temporary measure. It has, of course, been criticized on many counts by many individuals and groups, and its critical study by the student of social problems will be profitable in understanding the whole problem of immigration. Criticism may be illustrated by the strictures of Professor Howard Woolston in *Social Forces* for September, 1924. He thinks that the quota numbers are arbitrary and adventitious. He sees no reason for limiting immigrants to 161,000 a year. He sees danger in the exclusion of alien wives and children of American citizens. He sees danger in loop holes left by granting free entry to persons from other American countries. He sees danger from mechanical partiality in the selection of nationalities and stocks. The law disregards the wide range of individual differences among members of any group. It tends to confuse racial traits and cultural development. He criticizes the means of enforcing the new law, which assumes acceptable international agreements, and hence vitiates our old assumption that immigration is purely a matter of domestic concern. He calls attention to the dangers of international misunderstandings. He wishes to emphasize selection, registration, distribution and assimilation.

A Working Plan. Professor Woolston, recognizing the practical issues, suggests a scheme for clarifying the whole problem. He presents four points:

A simple basic law establishing a principle for controlling immigration. Details are unnecessary and cause confusion when subject to political alteration.

An expert commission, permanent, non-partisan and with broad administrative powers comparable to those of health authorities.

International conferences, frequent and continuous, to advise national authorities, to adjust difficulties between nations and to arrange details of administration concerning wider aspects of the problem.

Scientific revision, periodic, authoritative and public, through learned bodies concerned with technical questions involved.

Viewpoints on Modern Immigration. Our consideration thus far of the oriental nations and of the present American policy, as well as our previous studies of race and origins, make it timely for us to review the several attitudes and viewpoints on American immigration. Here again we may turn to the summary of Baker-Crothers and Hudnut, who name four attitudes towards immigration. An understanding of these attitudes is important in connection with our other studies of nations, origins, capital and labor. The *internationalists* say there should be no restrictions because the movement of peoples is a fundamental, natural, and organic part of social evolution. It is too big a movement to be checked by artificial laws, which violate as well, they say, the traditional ideal of America as the haven of the oppressed. The *nationalist*, on the other hand, believes that there is no essential justice or injustice involved, because the many divisions of the world ought each to contain a different kind of people, speaking their own languages, having their own form of government, and developing their own culture and civilization. He does not believe that backward people should be allowed to handicap advanced civilizations. He believes that the nation, like the home, has the right to restrict its guests and members. He may, of course, desire some immigrants and invite them in, but he thinks it is a national and not an international affair. Another group, sometimes thought to favor elastic immigration laws, are the *capitalists*. They hold that America's phenomenal growth, prosperity and power have been due to the unrestricted policy of immigration in the past, and they warn the country not to depart from its former ways. Likewise, many of the spokesmen for *labor* would advocate a much restricted immigration so that the laboring classes of this country may not be exposed to low standards of living and unreasonable competition. To what extent each of these views may be attributed to selfishness on the one hand or tradition on the other it is important for the student to inquire.

What Is an American Policy? Thus we come again to ask the

question as to what, after all, is the policy of America. In our discussion of international relations we recalled some of the earlier claims of America to be the melting pot of nations and the land to which oppressed peoples might go. On the other hand we have called attention to America's policy of isolation and freedom from "entangling alliances" with other peoples. Then it may be seen that the spirit of America's original foundation and early growth is set over against her later hardening policy of nationalism and "100 per cent Americanism." In the midst of these contrasts there are always to be considered extreme views on both sides and the indisputable fact of "growing pains" in a nation which admits foreign folk more rapidly than it can assimilate them. The history of the American immigration policy, as will be seen from Miss Abbott's illuminating volume, has not been one of unrestricted freedom of entrance even from the beginning. Early in the nineteenth century there was agitation which claimed America for the Americans, while the Know-Nothing party later argued for a policy of greater restriction. Then, mixed with waves of agitation for more immigration came reactions to regulate the influx of various types of labor and especially labor from the Orient. Various proposals continued until 1882 when a law was passed to exclude the socially deficient or those who might become public charges or criminals. Since that time there has been a fluctuating movement for restriction, and one might well compare the discussion on this subject with the curves and waves of population as previously described in this chapter. The conclusion of the whole matter must again be found in the careful consideration of facts and their bearing upon American problems and upon social progress and welfare in general.

Many Issues Involved. In order to get at these important facts the student cannot review too often statements of the immigration problem. One way to look at it is that presented by Professor Jenks in his *The Immigration Problem:* "The people of the United States stand for what, in their judgment, is the highest, best civilization in the world. Beyond question this judgment is often a narrow one. Few people know the best characteristics of the leading European nations, much less those of the more remote civilizations of India, Japan and China; but however biased their judgment may be, the Americans undeniably wish

to maintain their standard, and if possible to raise it. The problem becomes then, How does immigration affect American civilization now, and what is its influence likely to be in the future? In order to solve a problem of this nature it becomes necessary:

1. To fix for ourselves a standard of civilization;
2. To secure all the facts about immigration that bear in any important way upon our civilization;
3. To measure as carefully as possible the influence of these facts upon that standard; and
4. As a practical people, if immigration and the conditions brought about by it are affecting our civilization unfavorably, to suggest measures, either governmental or social, that will prove to be a sufficient remedy."

Economic, Social and Political Effects of Immigration. Another way to look at the problem of immigration is to study the economic, political and social effects which result from immigration. Among these are the crowding and congestion of population in the cities. Even with proper distribution of our immigrant population, we would still have our city problem, but it would not be so pressing or vital. In large cities immigrants are packed together into tenements, large families living in a few unsanitary, ill ventilated, badly lighted rooms. Jenks and Lauck cite the investigation of the Immigration Commission to the effect that among immigrant households 23.8 per cent had at least three persons per sleeping room, while among the native whites there were only 18.8 per cent with an equal number of persons per room. Among the Slovenians 13.8 per cent had five or more persons per sleeping room and 5.2 per cent had six or more, while among the native whites there were only 0.8 per cent who had as many as five per sleeping room. Such conditions bring their unfailing results of ill health, low standards and immorality. Not only are the dwellings of our immigrant city population almost uninhabitable, but each race draws apart into groups that in fact and custom are miniature replicas of the old-world communities they have left. The knowledge of America is brought to them through their children who attend our schools and sometimes through the friendly counsel of a welfare worker or participation in the activities of a community house or night school.

Labor and the Standard of Living. The economic effect of

immigration,—an overstocked labor market, causing unemployment, an unlimited supply of cheap labor, bringing hard times and scarcity of work; the expulsion of the unskilled workman from unskilled jobs; the subsequent dislocation of all classes of labor; the low standards of living of our foreign-born, engendering keen competition, often retarding the progress of the native, pulling him down to the immigrant's level; the intensifying of all these conditions by the mal-distribution of our population, and of the incoming immigrant in particular,—all have a direct bearing upon and are direct causes of the more serious social evils incident to immigration. Competition with those who, because of lower ideals and standards of living, can accept a lower wage brings about a long struggle on the part of the native—a losing struggle, for he is always underbid. It keeps him from educating his children as he wishes to, sometimes compelling him to put them to work when he wants them to remain in school; and, moreover, it has its effect in the reduced birth rate of the native population. The birth rate of our foreign-born population is high, that of the first native generation is high, but that of the older Americans is relatively low. While many other factors are operative in the reduction of the birth rate, immigration may be cited as one of the factors. The native, when forced to compete with the immigrant, as has been shown, is driven out. He tries desperately to maintain his standard of living and he cannot afford to have many children if he is to do this. So, while the foreign-born are prolific, the native-born are not.

Crime. The United States Census reports of 1910 indicate that the proportion of the foreign-born among our criminal classes is greater than that of the native-born in all but two kinds of crime,—forgery and juvenile offenses. An explanation of the latter exception is found in the fact that there are comparatively few children among the immigrant group. Those born here of immigrant parents are, of course, classed as native. Forgery is a crime associated with occupations in which few immigrants are employed, and this no doubt accounts for the preponderance of offenders among natives. The foreign-born are guilty of three times the number of assaults and twice the number of such offenses as lesser homicide, drunkenness, disorderly conduct. Professor Malcolm Willey in unpublished outlines, points out that the dis-

parity in the ratio between native and foreign criminals becomes more marked with old age, although the number of offenders is less in each group among the very old. This is not strange, for the immigrant has less opportunity to save than has the native American, since he usually earns less and is in greater danger of losing his job, usually some form of manual labor. Thus he is more likely to become a drifter, a vagrant, to end his days in the penitentiary. Dividing the immigrants into races, Professor Willey finds that in proportion to their number in the total population the greatest number of assaults were committed by Mexicans, Austrians, Italians; the greatest number of grave homicides by Mexicans and Italians; the largest proportion of vagrants was found among the Irish; of lesser homicides among the Mexicans, Italians and Austrians. By far the greatest ratio committed for drunkenness and disorderly conduct was found among the Irish, with the Mexicans a close second. Indeed, the Mexicans stand high in all types of crime and in proportion to their numbers constitute our largest criminal group.

Other Effects. Years ago, when our country was open to all, no restrictions prevented the indigent of other lands from emigrating here. In fact, many countries were only too glad to be freed from the care of their poor and were willing to pay for their transportation to the United States. Statistics for the year 1850 show that a native-born population of 21,947,274 contributed 66,434 of the paupers wholly or partially supported by the United States, while a foreign-born population of 2,244,602 contributed 68,538. Our immigration laws debarring paupers and those likely to become public charges protect us at the present time from such appalling conditions. In fact, the Immigration Commission, working with the Associated Charities in forty-three cities which included most of the large immigrant centers, New York alone excluded, came to the conclusion that only a very small percentage of immigrants now arriving apply for relief. Another problem is that of disease among immigrants. The Commission finds that our laws regarding disease are inadequate. Both the steamship company doctors and the medical officials of the Immigration Bureau examine the immigrant. If suffering from a contagious malady he is unlikely to pass these two examinations satisfactorily. However, after he arrives and is crowded into insanitary city quar-

ters, he becomes an easy victim to disease. This is not his fault but that of our country, and the immigrant is not the only one who suffers from the diseases emanating from the slums and affecting vast numbers of our population. This congested life of the city also adds its quota to the insane. Statistics for 1910 show that there are proportionately over twice as many insane among the foreign-born as among the native-born, a condition which is probably due to racial and national tendencies; to new environment—different climate, different occupations, changed habits of life—and to the preponderance of children in the native group. Since insanity is far more prevalent among adults than among children and as our immigrants are mainly adults, their proportion among the insane would of necessity be somewhat larger. But these qualifying conditions are offset by the fact that in every age group the foreigners show an appreciably larger percentage of insane. Still other problems arise from the immigrant's attitude toward certain American conditions, among which are prohibition, Sabbath observance, widespread religious feeling, and the work of radical organizations. Granted that the sturdy immigrant from European countries has builded much of the strength of America, nevertheless the immigrants first and last have contributed more than their share of maladjustment. And although it is true that many of these maladjustments are not only permitted but brought about by American citizens themselves through carelessness, greed or other unsocial habits, there is nevertheless a large body of disturbing facts that remain to be studied.

Regional Aspects. Still another method of approaching the American immigration problem is to view it in certain sections and regions. An entire cross-section of the problem can be seen by the study of such cities as New York and Chicago, with their large ratios of the foreign-born and children of foreign-born parents. In New York City alone are entire communities of immigrant groups maintaining their old cultures, languages, and standards of living. The foreign-born white population of New York City, according to the 1920 Census, is 1,991,547. New York, is the largest Jewish city, as well as the largest Negro city, in the world today. There and in other cities much of the so-called "crime wave" has been attributed to foreign influence and although this is difficult to reconcile with the fact that Memphis, Tennessee, which

has a very small immigrant population, has for years been ranked among the cities with the highest crime record. The immigration problem may be seen in New England manufacturing cities where the old stocks have been replaced largely by the foreign-born and immediate descendants of foreign stock. We have already referred to the cross-section of the immigration problem to be found in Japanese and Chinese groups in the West. Other phases of the oriental situation may be studied in the larger eastern cities. Still another cross-section of the immigration problem may be viewed as we shall see in the Southern States.

Immigration and the South. The whole American situation with reference to immigration cannot be interpreted without a view of the southern attitude and experience. North Carolina has sometimes been called the "most American state of the union" because of certain of its democratic traditions, its sturdy stock of original English, Irish, Scotch, and German constituency, and because it has continuously reported less than one-tenth of one per cent of its whole population as being foreign-born. What, then, is meant by "American?" Other southern states have similar ratios of foreign-born, and are proud of the fact. Is the South, then, more "American" or less "American?" What shall be said of those governors and chambers of commerce who have attempted to bring colonies of foreign-born to the South? What shall be said of those who oppose this movement? On the one hand the bringing in of strong immigrant stocks would contribute much to the South in many ways. On the other, it would bring disturbing influences to bear upon southern life and culture. The South has been strong for prohibition: large numbers of immigrants would tend to change the situation in this respect. Likewise, they would compel the South to focus its attention more sharply upon matters of religion, Sabbath observance, its attitude towards woman, its attitude towards race, and other important phases of life. Would all this prove an asset or a liability? The South and, for that matter, all sections of the nation will find in these inquiries one of the most important applications of the whole question of immigration and America's attitude towards it.

Manifold Phases of the Subject. Thus the student of social problems will see in the study of immigration abundant oppor-

tunity for using his best efforts and most scientific methods. In the historical aspects he will interpret American history anew. In the after-war phases he will find excellent correlation with his study of international relations. The race aspects are important, and in the pathological phases which are related to poverty, crime, disease, he will find a close connection with the whole field of social pathology. The political and economic phases are particularly timely in this beginning of the second quarter of the twentieth century. The whole problem is important in the church programs and in the general aspirations toward world brotherhood. And the problem of immigration is closely connected with the whole problem of social progress and future social structure. In this connection the problem of migration and the building and rebuilding of populations is of particular importance, and this subject will be treated in the next chapter.

FOR FURTHER STUDY

For Information

1. Give the main provisions of recent immigration laws.
2. Discuss different attitudes toward immigration.
3. How has immigration contributed to the social problems of the city?
4. To what extent is the immigration problem a race problem?
5. How many aliens were admitted into the U. S. in 1921?

For Stimulating Thought

6. Were the Japanese justified in resenting recent United States policies?
7. How do the recent exclusion acts accord with the American ideals?
8. How can the United States maintain its increasingly progressive attitude toward international affairs and at the same time become more rigid in its immigration laws?
9. Why does the immigrant seek the city in preference to the small town or the country?

10. What special factors enter to make the Mexican situation a difficult one?

For Research and Creative Writing

11. Write the story of an immigrant who came to this country in childhood or early maturity.
12. List notable contributions of foreign-born Americans.
13. Make a study of the immigrant population in the local state.
14. Using United States census data, make a map showing the distribution of the immigrant population by states.
15. Show the rural and urban distribution of the immigrant population by states and for the United States as a whole.

For Practical Application

16. Estimate the number, nationality, and distribution of immigrants which the local state can assimilate.
17. In a given city compare the relative frequency of requests for public aid among the native-born and the foreign-born.
18. Plan programs looking toward bringing into the state immigrant groups for specific purposes.
19. Work out a recreation or playground program which would further contacts between immigrants and native children.
20. Work out a coöperative plan for minimizing conflict between immigrant groups.

For Continuity of Effort

21. Review some of the efforts of social work on behalf of the immigrant.
22. List notable researches which have been made of immigrant groups in this country.
23. From *And Who Is My Neighbor* select examples similar to personal experiences in your own community.
24. What have church and school contributed toward the assimilation of the immigrant?
25. List the chief agencies and periodical publications primarily devoted to the immigrant.

For Effective Reading

26. For special study: Abbott's *Immigration*, Baker-Crothers and Hudnut's *Problems of Citizenship*, Chapters IV to VII, Antin's *The Promised Land*, Commons' *Races and Immigrants in America*, Safford's *Immigration Policy*.
27. For sampling or exhaustive reading: Abbott, Edith, Antin, Brewer, Commons, Davie, Davis, M. M., Fairchild, Jenks, Lauck, Park, Safford, Stephenson, G. M.

CHAPTER XIV

THE SOCIAL POPULATION

Approaching the Study. In the previous chapter we have already approached the subject of social population through the avenue of immigration, one of the chief modes through which social groupings are increased and changed. It will be well now to keep the problems of immigration fresh in our minds as we continue our general study of population movements and migrations, with their statistics, theories, and practical issues. For although migration has been one of the fundamental social phenomena of all periods, its manifestations are now of increasing importance. And society faces the whole problem of population from new angles and with new relationships. Thus while we have perhaps been accustomed to consider the problem of population largely from the two-fold viewpoint of numbers and quality, we must now consider more carefully the third factor of distribution as of essential importance to the whole problem and as modifying the other two factors.

Migration and Distribution of Peoples. The methods of migration and distribution may well be illustrated with examples of the American Negro, the Mexican migrant, and the general American immigration situation, besides innumerable examples in other countries. In the United States alone the migration of Negroes from country to city, from city to city, from South to North, has changed the whole problem of race and population within many regions and, for that matter, in the whole United States. With the aggregate movement of Negro population mounting into millions, with their changes in occupation, wealth, and culture, the "new Negro" has created almost a new epoch, no less in America than in our whole racial experience. The movement of Negroes has created entirely new situations in the distribution and culture of populations, not in the northern communities alone, but in southern communities from which the Negro has come, and in international contacts and influences. In the chapter on race

we omitted this phase of the Negro problem, and we may now study it in the light both of race and of population. Two examples will suffice, one the quantitative extent of Negro migration, and the other the result produced in a Negro city.

The Negro and Harlem. The most significant example of the influence of Negro migration upon population and upon social life in general is that of Harlem in New York, frequently called a typical "American" community. It would be necessary to contrast its present population with that of a few years ago in order to see just how the Negro has changed the human face of the city in that particular section. *The Survey Graphic* published a special edition devoted to Harlem, which was later reprinted largely in *The New Negro*, edited by Dr. Alain Locke; and yet Melville J. Herskovits, writing in the September 1925 *Social Forces*, calls attention to the typically normal life of this community. He says:

> What we have is a society in which the members are controlled by the patterns of the larger society in which its members live. The clothing which the New York Negro wears is quite the same as those his White brother and sister wear. The occupations in which he is employed are none in which we do not find Whites, whether these be those of porter or doctor of philosophy. Secret societies abound—and not only are they patterned after the prevailing type, but they often have even the same names, and, as far as can be ascertained, the same ritual. All the prevailing religious denominations are represented in this community, and the rituals employed are the standard ones, and this goes so far that the Negro branches are quite a part of the larger denominational groups which control the workings of the churches within their jurisdictions. There are social centers connected with the more prosperous churches, in which the same sort of classes and recreational groups are found as in the White ones. We see a flourishing medical association, and a business man's association, and even in those groups where the color line of trade-unionism does not permit Negroes to join the larger organizations, there are Negro unions. The recreations are much the same—the moving pictures are quite popular as among the Whites, and the radio craze and the popularity of the cross-word puzzle which have swept the country do not stop at the color line. We find, among the Negro students, Greek-letter fraternities and sororities which are patterned after the prevailing type, nor are there alumni associations lacking for those who have finished their college careers. The Negro newspapers, although there are no dailies (the papers of general circulation are widely read)

are quite like those printed anywhere else in the country—indeed, if we go a bit farther afield, and take the largest Negro paper, published in Chicago, the reader who did not know it was a Negro paper would never suspect this except from the pictures.

Mexican Migrations. Another profitable way of approaching the problem of population in America, from the viewpoint of movement and composition, is that of studying the Mexican migration to the United States. The Commissioner General of Immigration reports that "after Italy and Canada, Mexico furnished more immigrants in 1920 than any other country, 52,361 having been admitted from that source compared with 29,818 in 1919, and an annual average of 10,320 in the 21 years 1899–1919. The large increase in 1920 is said to be due to various causes, the chief of which was the demand for labor at high wages in the southwest, where these immigrants form a highly important part of the labor supply." Miss Helen Richardson, of the State Department of Public Education of California, calls attention to several bases for special study of this problem, which we quote by permission. It is urged that such a study would be important both to the government of Mexico and the United States, and that it would be useful to American industry because of the over-supply of casual labor and the tendency of the Mexican to scatter himself throughout the United States. A half-dozen facts and needs stated are as follows:

Limiting European immigration has greatly increased the migration across the Mexican border.

Mexico is now the country sending the largest number of immigrant workers into the United States. Absolutely no accurate information is available concerning the sources in Mexico, the causes and extent of this migration; the duration of stay in the United States, the occupations and living standards of the migrants; and the effect of this migration upon social and economic conditions in the United States.

The long border between the United States and Mexico makes it impossible to get accurate data from official figures supplied by the Immigration Bureau.

Since Mexico is not covered by quota regulations, action to restrict Mexican immigration may be proposed in Congress at the next session. No intelligent action can be taken in the absence of all information.

With lack of authentic information, rumor and current prejudice is

beginning to circulate the usual exaggerations and appeals to yellow journalism.

Stabilization of the casual migratory laborer is an important economic question in the United States to-day. The Mexican is a most important factor in any study of migratory labor.

The General Problem of Migrations. Other phases of the migration problem which have important bearing upon population will be found in various population elements. To take a concrete example, the movement of workers from mountain or rural regions in the South to mill villages is determining the future composition of the southern population. And of course the whole migratory movement from country to city is a leading national problem, to be studied in a later chapter. We have already referred to such migrations as the Florida movements of 1925 and 1926, and to other racial and geographic influences involved in the movement of population. In these migrations are involved also such changing situations as the birth rate and the death rate, health and moral conditions, and various social actions and patterns which arise because of mixed groupings. In the United States there are—to summarize—the following elements of population which move to and fro: the foreign-born migrants in the North, East and West; the Mexicans in the South and West, and perhaps in the East; the orientals on the Pacific Coast and to some extent in other places; the rural native whites in New England and the East; the mountain folk of the Piedmont areas of the South; and the Negro groups all over the country. For instance, more than half of the Negroes now reside in states other than those in which they were born.

Backgrounds of Population. From this introductory consideration of local problems of migration the student may well turn to the more fundamental backgrounds not only of migration but of the whole problem of the growth and development of populations. We have already seen that the phenomenon of population movement is a generic one. We come now to see that there is really no social problem of more importance to society than the determination of the rate and limit of population growth and its wise distribution. Economists, social workers, statisticians, biologists, sociologists, historians, publicists, and other students keep us continually supplied with suggestions as to trends and

needs. Perhaps there is no better way to approach both the theoretical study of population and practical American population problems than through a concrete consideration of the American situation. What is the size and extent of our population? What is its character and distribution? What is the limit of population which may equitably live in the United States? What are the maximum possibilities for elbow room, food, sociability, happiness? What are the methods through which our population should be increased? What are the methods through which it should be selected or limited? What are the relative merits of the Roosevelt-ian fear lest we be a people committing race suicide through small families, and the apprehension of Ross and Pearl that the country will be overpopulated in a short time?

The People of the United States. In previous chapters we have given some of the facts concerning the population of the United States as composed of various races and peoples. It is estimated that there are approximately 350,000 American Indians at the present time. The following tables, adapted from Professor King's study of population growth under the direction of the National Bureau of Economic Research, show something of the general classification of our population.

Year	*Population, July 1 (1,000)*	*Births per 1,000 Population*	*Deaths per 1,000 Population*
1909	90,508	29.5	14.4
1910	92,422	25.3	15.0
1911	93,837	25.5	14.2
1912	95,249	25.5	13.9
1913	97,111	25.5	14.0
1914	98,974	26.1	13.5
1915	100,390	26.2	13.4
1916	101,787	26.3	13.9
1917	103,234	26.2	14.1
1918	104,377	26.1	17.6
1919	105,007	24.3	12.9
1920	106,422	24.9	13.1
1921	108,370	25.4	11.6
1922	109,742	23.4	11.8
1923	111,469*	23.4*	12.2*
1924	113,454*	23.3*	11.7*

* Preliminary estimates.

Occupational Status. From this table it will be seen that the ratio between births and deaths has almost reached two to one, but that both seem to be moving downward at a rapid rate. We have already pointed out in the previous chapter the rapid decrease in immigration. Professor King finds that in round numbers the average immigration from 1920 to 1925 was 403,000 and that the birth increase was approximately 2,642,000. The average number of deaths was 1,326,000. Important alongside this general increase of population is its status according to age and occupation. Keeping in mind the size of the population on each date given as in the preceding table, its distribution in these respects may be seen from the following table by Professor King, taken from the *News Bulletin* of the National Bureau of Economic Research, April, 1925:

Year	*Children under 15 (1,000)*	*Adults not Gainfully Occupied (1,000)*	*Employees (1,000)*	*Entrepreneurs (1,000)*
1909	29,069	27,184	24,422	9,833
1910	29,553	27,769	25,226	9,874
1911	29,869	28,268	25,794	9,906
1912	30,252	28,760	26,310	9,927
1913	30,719	29,364	27,078	9,950
1914	31,236	29,956	27,806	9,976
1915	32,126	30,308	27,962	9,994
1916	32,272	30,877	28,629	10,009
1917	32,750	31,111	29,379	9,994
1918	33,245	30,749	30,586	9,797
1919	33,449	31,276	30,530	9,752
1920	33,833	32,581	29,959	10,049
1921	34,333	32,218	30,740	10,079
1922	34,687	33,725	31,307	10,023
1923	34,895*	34,379*	32,510*	9,685*
1924	35,122*	35,108*	33,566*	9,657*

* Preliminary estimate.

The Limit of American Population. In view of the questions asked above and of the many varied standpoints from which the American population may be seen, it is important to consider some of the objective ways and means of measuring future trends. What are the factors which will enable us to determine the possi-

bilities and needs of America for more or less population? Professor Howard Woolston, writing in *Social Forces* for September, 1925, gives five general considerations upon which such judgment should be based. He concludes from these considerations that a fixed limit for population growth must be arbitrarily set and, at least for the present, is not determinable:

1. Temporary local limits of population may be transcended by migration, productive industry, rational distribution of wealth and intelligent regulation of numbers. These factors supplement the basis of area with conditions of social organization.
2. The number of people that can be supported within a given area is determined by their economic resources and standards of living. These may be gauged by wealth and income.
3. Population varies with the type of industry and trade developed within and about political units. Such economic opportunity may be measured by proportionate numbers in different occupations, capital invested and flow of goods.
4. The rate of increase for any group depends upon its composition and character as well as its absolute numbers. Sex, age and marital condition, temperament and tradition, obviously influence population growth.
5. So-called natural limits are shifted by pressure of population through accumulation of wealth, development of technique and social control. This seems to be the teaching of human history.

The Malthusian Doctrine. The practical consideration of the limit of American population involves, of course, many factors and raises important questions as to which of the various theories of population growth and development are most valid. The most notable historical theory is that of Malthus. In general, Malthus held that population was limited by subsistence and that it increased with a larger food supply unless prevented by other influences. However, food supply cannot continue to increase as rapidly as population because the amount of land is limited. Hence, Malthus drew up his famous formula that population must increase faster than the food supply, or, to put it in mathematical terms, that population increased at the ratio of 1–2–4–8–16–32–64–128, whereas food tended to increase at the ratio simply of 1–2–3–4–5–6–7–8. Malthus recognized, however, that since it would be impossible for the earth long to support a population increasing at that rate, there was need of such positive checks

as poverty, pestilence, disease, wars, famine. He also considered the possibility of reducing the number of offspring by later marriages and the limitation of the family. Few theories have been presented which have occasioned more discussion and debate than the Malthusian doctrine. Professor Woolston suggests four possible methods of alleviating the necessity by which population outruns the means of subsistence:

1. *Temporary and local relief may be found by migration to more favorable environments.* An outstanding illustration of this tendency is offered by the movement of immigrants to America during the nineteenth century. Contrary to the general impression, the rate of emigration does not increase directly with density of population and rate of genetic increase in the country of origin but is inversely correlated with these. It is wealth and opportunity, not area, that attract and hold immigration. A rational policy of selection, distribution and assimilation of immigrants is essential.

2. *Conditions of production and distribution may be improved.* The rapid growth of English, Dutch, German, and American population under such circumstances are sufficient examples of this tendency. Conservation of natural resources, intensive cultivation, mechanical invention, cheapened transportation and efficient administration are still capable of wide extension beyond the present economic margins.

3. *Standards of living may be simplified and rationalized.* It is obvious that wealth has increased more rapidly than population, but that its equitable enjoyment has been hampered by waste and luxury on the one hand, and by undue labor, enforced idleness and dissipation on the other. Measures to equalize opportunities among all classes and to educate men to coöperate in their use may extend collective resources more advantageously.

4. *The number and quality of the group may be regulated.* Results of birth control are beginning to appear in a restricted and selective fertility. The possibilities of eugenics have only been suggested in repressive laws. Wide diffusion of information upon such matters would doubtless carry us from merely negative measures to constructive efforts for the improvement of the stock.

Malthus Revised. We give also Professor Woolston's revision of the Malthusian doctrine, in which he points out how man has "passed from the stage of blind biological evolution to the beginnings of conscious social progress." Following the original fivefold Malthusian emphasis, he summarizes as follows:

1. Pressure of population upon means of subsistence has led first to natural selection, and so promoted the evolution of the human type, intelligent and capable of coöperation.

2. Human beings were brought into groups, and so developed communication, mental patterns and agencies for social control.

3. By accumulation of wealth, technique and social organization men transformed their natural environment and altered conditions of life.

4. Because of these changed conditions they have been able in a measure to substitute rational and social selection for the unmodified influence of natural forces.

5. By continued use and observation of these forces men have analyzed the elements involved and have learned to combine and direct them to effect enlarging human designs.

Other Theories of Population. There have been many other theories of population, ranging from a sort of cosmic physics to the most abstract philosophy. Professor Bushee, in his *Principles of Sociology*, summarizes Herbert Spencer's theory as follows:

The essence of his principle is contained in the formula that generation varies inversely with individuation; that is, that the reproductive capacity itself diminishes as the evolution of the individual proceeds. Spencer undertakes to prove the point by two methods. First, he shows that every species of life which succeeds in adapting itself to the environment must strike a balance between the preservative and the destructive forces. Now the means of preservation of a species are of two kinds; individual adaptation, and reproduction. Both are essential but they may exist in very different ratios. Together they must counterbalance the forces destructive to a species, if that species is to maintain the equilibrium necessary for survival, and therefore as one increases the other must decrease.

Dumont's Theory. A helpful supplement to the Malthusian theory, continues Professor Bushee, is to be found in the suggestion of Arsène Dumont that population varies inversely with 'social capillarity'; that is, the tendency to rise in the social scale. The valuable point contained in this formula is that if family burdens conflict with the maintenance of a given standard of living, the latter will be chosen in preference to the former. This fact, which seems to be of general application, accounts for the smaller rate of multiplication of the middle class, because it, under the present conditions of competition, has considerable difficulty in retaining or raising the standards generally prevailing in that class. In a modified form it explains too the small families of the upper class for, although large families would not in that circle interfere with standards

of living so far as expense was concerned, they would interfere with personal comfort and with the performance of exacting social obligations, which after all may not always enter into standards of living. It helps also to explain the high birth rate of the unskilled laboring classes, for in their case maximum wages come at an early age, permitting youthful marriages, and standards of living are not so easily affected by size of family. The families of casual laborers may fall below the poverty line when the children are young, but they rise above it when the children have become wage earners; and the important point is that with them variations in fortune do not interfere with social standing.

Other Theories. We have quoted Professor Bushee at length on Spencer's and Dumont's theories because he has stated them well for the purpose of this chapter. These two, with that of Malthus, however, are not all of the population theories. Men have for ages been raising many questions concerning the origin, limitation and health of populations. Much of the opposition to modern discussions of population limitation and birth control comes from a very sincere feeling on the part of great numbers of people that all such matters are directly in the hands of God. Not long since it was considered almost sacrilege to discuss in public the origin and birth of children. Likewise much of the opposition to the Malthusian doctrine came from the allegiance of the theologians to what they believed was the all-sufficient wisdom of the Creator. There have been other theories which held that men, like animals, were subject to a sort of rhythmic or cyclical variation, in the course of which they were more productive during certain years than during others. There has been no validation of such a theory but it is entered as one of the philosophical hypotheses. Sadler thought that human fecundity bore a direct ratio to the fertility of the earth. Alison set forth the almost opposite theory that the size of the family tended to be largest when the means of support was smallest, and cited as evidence the large families of the poor and the small families of the well-to-do. Doubleday, looking at this same fact of small families among the well-to-do, decided that over-nutrition tended to reduce fruitfulness, and he held, therefore, that the reproductive capacity was in inverse ratio to the abundance of nourishment. There have been scores of other theories, some attempting to explain fertility solely by reference to the sex instinct, others

to laws of natural selection and survival. Some have observed how fecundity decreases in each race as it rises in the scale of civilization, just as it was pointed out that the size of the family decreases as men grow more wealthy and leisurely. Others have supposed that the acquisition of education and culture results in a loss of reproductive power. Still others have argued the unimportance of economic and biological conditions by stressing the social difference between man and animals and the many social factors involved.

Natural Increase of Population. We may return now from the consideration of these general theories of population to the statement of its simplest elements. Populations are increased not only by migrations but by birth, and indirectly by a decrease in the death rate. Moreover, the character and distribution of populations will be affected by the factors which are involved in each of these three forces. The originally simple proposition that populations have a very definite maximum capacity for increase because of natural birth rates must now be studied from other viewpoints. Birth rates vary greatly in different countries and among different peoples. The birth rate of the so-called American stock in the United States, let us say in New England, is so far below that of the new or foreign stocks as to become a matter of concern to many of its members. The birth rate of the older and better educated families in the country is so far below that of many other groups that there has grown up a new school of eugenists who see in this fact the national menace of a population declining in quality. The student may find as many examples of this variation as he pleases by making studies and surveys of particular groups. The Negro, for instance, finds his birth rate much lowered as he moves North to the cities and as he takes upon himself the newer culture. In the United States in 1850 the percentage of Negro increase was 26.6; in 1880 it was 34.9; while in 1920 it had been reduced to 6.9. In a following chapter dealing with woman in society we shall point out how the size of families and the marriage rate have decreased in direct ratio to the higher education of women. Thus the matter of birth rate becomes a very complicated social problem as well as one having its foundations in economic and biological conditions.

The Death Rate and Population. We have called attention in other chapters to the remarkable advance which medicine has

made in the reduction of human suffering and the prolongation of human life. In this modern era perhaps the most important aspect of the increase in population will be found in the reduction of the death rate and the prevention of disease. Between 1910 and 1921 the death rate per thousand for the American registration area was reduced from 14.5 to 11.4, while ten years earlier than that, in 1900, the rate stood as high as 17.1 per thousand. Another way to show the great advance made in decreasing the death rate is to compare present day America not only with the America of several decades ago but with foreign countries. Hungary, for instance, has a rate of 23.6 per thousand; Roumania, 24.8; Spain, 23.3; Austria, 21.3. There is great variation among different groups even in the United States, the Negroes, for instance, having a rate of 15.9 per thousand in 1921 as opposed to the whites' 11.4. The Negro death rate, however, shows still more effectively the great advances made. It has been lowered in ten years from 24.2 per thousand to 15.9, a decrease of 8.3 per cent as opposed to 3.1 per thousand for the whites. The whole story of preventive medicine and of public health constitutes one of the chief romances of the modern scientific movement.

Modern Conditions. There are, however, some contrasts and paradoxes in the modern situation. On the one hand there is a great decrease in infant mortality and the prolongation of life. Professor Irving Fisher has recently been prophesying that America will soon become a nation of octogenarians. Science and medicine, turning back to learn from biology and the natural ways of life, have been able to direct mankind into channels which will lead to longer life. The programs of hygiene and health, starting with the preschool child and running through to old age, make not only for the prolongation of life but for more vigorous individuals and a better use of the modern facilities for living. Many diseases, like yellow fever, have been practically eliminated and the great scourges of tuberculosis and veneral diseases are rapidly being conquered. On the other hand, however, the new civilization has taxed man's constitution so heavily that organic diseases must be studied and means early applied to prevent the increase in deaths from heart disease and other organic troubles. There is then, too, the fight against nervous tendencies; and most of all against the great mortality which comes from accidents due to

the rush of modern life. There were, for instance, according to the National Safety Council, 85,000 people killed in industrial, commercial and public life during 1926 as against only 54,488 in the nineteen months of the great war. In spite of this, it is estimated that there has been a reduction of more than 81 per cent of accidents in industrial concerns since 1907, when organized safety efforts began. Here again there is paradox. In industry the many accident-prevention programs have reduced the loss of life and limb greatly, while the death rate from automobile accidents is mounting to an alarming extent. Thus society, as it masters one problem and moves forward, is called upon to face others.

Population and Industry. Many other modern situations are affecting the rate of population increase. We may discuss two or three of these here. One is comprised in modern standards of living, the wage rate, and general economic conditions; others will be found in the eugenics and birth control movement which, however, will be a subject for more special and extended study. Professor Warren S. Thompson, writing in *Social Forces* for December, 1925, suggests certain revisions of the wage system to conform to the size and needs of the family. He calls attention to the fact that until the modern industrial age income had always conformed to the family needs because of the fact that women and children contributed directly to the support of the family. He thinks that a family wage system will have a very important bearing upon the survival of the family and upon processes of population growth. Some of his points of emphasis are, that changes in the wage system to correspond to the family needs will not lay any additional wage burden upon employers, that it is for the good of the community to encourage families of good stock to raise large numbers of children, that under the present system children are an economic burden, and that survival ought to be based somewhat upon the ability of families to meet total social and industrial situations. Professor Thompson believes that the statement that our best stock is dying out because of economic hardships is greatly exaggerated. He believes that before we can ascribe economic reasons to the low family rate we must first eliminate economic cost of children to some extent. He thinks many other factors such as custom, the love of pleasure, the fear of suffering, the desire for fame, freedom, social life, are

often the real reasons, instead of economic handicaps. Many others besides Professor Thompson are proposing adjustments in the relation of family to population and general welfare.

Eugenics and Population. The modern movement towards eugenics, in its various forms, is attracting a great deal of attention and must necessarily call for even more consideration in the future. Not all of those who are concerned about better stocks of people would call themselves eugenists, but for practical purposes the ends they both desire are the same. The biologists seem certain that the continued breeding from certain groups in the population is sure to produce a people of lower grade. There is evidence that the professional and business classes are reproducing at a much lower rate than some of the substandard immigrant groups. Some of the biologists think that modern social work and philanthropy tend to cause the unfit to survive. Other students of history and sociology and the other social sciences are becoming alarmed at what they believe to be the decrease of the "intelligent" and the increase of the "unintelligent." There has grown up, therefore, a sort of cult of intelligence. It seems probable, however, that many of these judgments are based upon modern American standards of economic success and of formal social experience, so that our discussion of the merits of this movement must be postponed until our later chapter on social value and social progress. Professor Thompson, writing in *Social Forces* for March, 1925, assumes that the future belongs to the people who raise children.

> But, he says, at present the upper economic classes are unwilling to participate in the future in this way (the only sure way) and yet are bewailing the fact that they cannot control the future. One cannot eat one's cake and have it. If we prize a book written, a trip to Europe, expensive dinners, a fortune accumulated, prominent position socially or economically, etc., more than children, we should be willing to let the people who do raise the children determine the future. We should do it gracefully as it ill becomes us to rail at new immigrants and 'the lower orders' who instinctively understand nature's requirements better than we of the so-called upper classes.

The Modern Family and Population. Thus we come again to consider the family as the basis of population; and before we can proceed with our final studies of population we must direct our attention and our inquiries to the changing status of the modern

family. If birth control, now considered an improper subject for frank discussion, shall later come to be a matter of social hygiene and an aid to social development, it must start with the family and then find its sanction through its value to other institutions. Many other problems, such as mothers' aid extended through community and government, will have important bearing upon the problem of the number and nurture of children. The economic factors involved in woman's part in industry, and the wage system previously discussed, and the whole question of child labor, will be important factors. Various phases of social work and child welfare will have far-reaching influence. The merits of these and other phases must be considered after comprehensive study of the family, of modern family relationships, of child welfare, and other institutional problems and relations treated in the following chapters.

FOR FURTHER STUDY

For Information

1. What is "the population problem"?
2. What is the social significance of the data on birth and death rates?
3. Give the main provisions of the Malthusian doctrine.
4. What are Spencer's and Dumont's theories of population?
5. What has been the effect of the northward migration of the Negro on birth rate?

For Stimulating Thought

6. What are defects in theories of eugenics?
7. Why do most cities strive for a quantitative increase in population?
8. Why is the United States now not so fearful of an excessive increase in population as was Malthus?
9. What social problems arise from migrations of people?
10. Is the cityward trend increasing or decreasing? Is this good or bad?

For Research and Creative Writing

11. Chart on a map of the United States the distribution of Negroes, of foreign-born.
12. Study concrete cases of problems arising from undue mobility, the casual laborer, or excessive migration.

13. Make comparisons of the birth and death rates of the local city or town by years since 1900.
14. In a given industry make a study of the labor turnover.
15. Make case studies of Negroes who have migrated north or of those who have returned south after a northward migration.

For Practical Application

16. List possible new forces for the prevention of automobile accidents.
17. Are your city or town boosters worrying over a quantitative or qualitative increase in population?
18. Read Carleton Parker's account of the casual laborer. Plan a program for a more adequate adjustment of the casual laborer in your community.
19. Show how your community could have avoided some of the problems which have arisen from mobility of population.
20. In your community what occupations are securing the incoming rural laborers?

For Continuity of Effort

21. Give some of the results of the efforts of a city safety council in reducing the number of automobile accidents.
22. What are the objectives and efforts of the National Safety Council?
23. How are school and church concerning themselves with the adjustment of the migrant?
24. What have been some of the efforts of the Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A. to stabilize the incoming resident?
25. What measures are being taken for a more accurate registration of births and deaths?

For Effective Reading

26. For special study: Ross' *Standing Room Only*, Reuter's *Population Problems*, and East's *Mankind at the Crossroads*, Pearl's *Biology of Population Growth*, Carr-Saunders' *Population*.
27. For sampling or exhaustive reading Carr-Saunders, Cox, Dublin, East, Pearl, Reuter, Ross, Sweeney, Swinbourne, Thompson, W. S., Wright.

CHAPTER XV

THE FAMILY A BASIC INSTITUTION

The Family Unit of Society. Just as the social individual constitutes the smallest single unit of the social population, so the family represents the smallest *group* unit and the most important of the primary association groups. And just as, in the development of the social personality and in the social measurement and direction of the individual, we found the growth of the individual representative of the highest social objective, so in the family we touch most of the elementary problems and phenomena of human association. It is the first of the "little societies." It is appropriate, therefore, that we begin our second division of study—that relating to the institutions—with the family. There are other reasons why the family should be the starting point. It is the first essential in the physical perpetuation of the race. It is the first in the evolution of the race. It is the first in the "social health" of peoples. It is the first in the origin of the other institutions. Beginning in the family was the organic inheritance and evolution of society. Beginning in the family was education. Beginning in the family was industry. Here also were the beginnings of government, of communities, of religion. In the history of the family is found much that is most representative of the story of mankind. But before looking at the historical development of the family, and its relation to the family's present status and form, we may well begin our study of family problems by an examination into the functions of this institution.

The Functions of the Family. For the time being we may omit any distinctions between primary and secondary functions as commonly described in the special works dealing with the family. For the time being, also, we may avoid the use of technical terms and classifications in order to introduce the subject in conformity with the previous discussions in this book and with the final conclusions reached. Through such informal classification of functions we may judge the efficacy of the modern family and attempt

to measure some of its standards and needs. We proceed, therefore, to classify the functions of the family as they tend to correspond with the sixfold institutional mode of life already defined, and to discuss some of the problems and standards arising out of these functions, together with their relation to the survival of the monogamic family. The functions are:

Organic: The reproduction of the race; continuity of stocks.
Educational: The beginnings of education; primitive education; elemental beginnings in modern home.
Religious: The beginnings of formal religion; early religious training of the child; spiritual nurture.
Political: Beginnings of the state; obedience and authority; citizenship; democracy.
Industrial: Beginnings of industry; economic division of labor; inheritance of private property.
Social: Training in social nature; altruism; the beginnings of community.

Standards of Measurement. Judging by this representative list of functions, what constitutes a high standard of family life? Are the changing home conditions of to-day altering the elementary essentials or affecting modern standards? What is a sociological family, anyway? What is meant by a high standard of living? Can the great majority of present-day families be measured by some such standard as suggested in the continued classification given below? Is it possible, by studying briefly such a classification to learn about the modern family and its needs?

Organic: Father and mother, duly constituted man and wife, with children; the perfect standard being more than one child and of both sexes; cleanness of blood and good health; normal love.
Educational: A standard of living adequate to give children opportunity for education; physical equipment; the desire and appreciation for educational values; parental coöperation in school work; adult education and cultural opportunities.
Religious: Freedom to worship in accordance with dictates of conscience; a standard of living adequate to permit participation in worship upon a satisfactory social basis; the spiritual ideal in daily living and in training children; coöperation in proper religious efforts.
Political: The democratic family—neither father all-powerful, mother all-dominant, nor children uncontrolled, but all sharing in the family order; participation in civic activities and support of good government.

Industrial: Gainful occupation insuring a standard of living for food, adequate and of the right sort; clothing, adequate and of the right sort; housing, adequate and in good social neighborhood; health and comforts; proper hours and no harmful child labor; sharing in the constructive rewards of work; savings and investments.

Social: Adequate use of leisure time, with recreational and cultural opportunities; pleasure and recreation in the home; participation in community activities.

Elementary Problems of the Family. It was suggested in the beginning of this chapter that many of the fundamental problems of society are also fundamental problems of the family, so representative is it of the processes and problems of human association. It is readily seen from the above classifications that the problems of the home and family are closely related to the problems and concerns of the other institutions, so that not only must the home and family coöperate with other institutions in order to stand on a high level, but the other institutions are essential if the family is to maintain its high standard through changing times. In the next chapter will be discussed "the problem" of the family; it is, however, important at this point to classify some of the elementary family problems, listed in accordance with the plan of previous classifications.

Organic: The problem of population; size of family; birth control; divorce and separation; eugenics and selection; mechanical marriages.

Educational: Preschool education; kindergarten; mothers in industry; vocational education; sex education; education for home making; higher education for women.

Religious: Breakdown of religious sanction; substitutes for religious influences; the Sunday School and religious instruction; the newer freedom; the youth movement.

Industrial: Child labor; women in industry; physical and moral conditions of work; minimum wage; minimum hour schedule; city conditions; irregularity of hours.

Political: Parental control, instruction and guidance; woman's part in government; readjustment of home values; late marriages.

Social: Uniformity of marriage laws; readjustment of men and women to newer concepts of woman's rights; the single standard of morality.

Historical Development of the Family. It was explained in the earlier chapters that "the home and family" in this discussion

will be understood to mean our present-day American monogamous family, with whatever changing problems of the home may center around it. This does not mean, however, that the student should not make such inquiry into the evolution of the family as his time may permit. Every student of social problems should take at least one full course on the history of the family and the marriage institution. In this chapter, however, there can be only a brief inquiry into the historical development, sufficient to show how the present monogamic family is the product of race wisdom and survival. Has, then, the present form of the family, monogamy, been adjudged the supreme form through which the ideal and survival of the race may be attained, and if so what other forms have been tried? We may list:

The indefinite family: In which sex relations are indefinite, sometimes formative, sometimes promiscuous.

The patronymic family: In which descent is traced through the father's line, sometimes in connection with polyandry.

The metronymic family: In which descent is traced through the mother's line; an early stage of the family.

The patriarchal family: In which the families and groups remain subservient to the male head of the kinship clan.

The matriarchal family: In which the tribe of the woman remains dominant.

The polygynic family: In which a man may have several wives.

The polyandric family: In which a woman may have several husbands.

The polygamic family: In which either man or woman may have plurality of partners in the marriage state.

The group marriage: In which several men marry several women, but specific enough to differ from general polygamy.

Proprietary monogamy: In which the marriage of one man and one woman is a matter of more or less forced relationships.

Voluntary monogamy: In which the marriage of one man and one woman represents the ideal of both social sanction and individual happiness.

Modern Tendencies. The student of modern social problems will find one of the most interesting of all his fields to be the present tendencies in the American family. It is better to examine quietly some of these tendencies, with their import and backgrounds, than to become emotionally excited about them. In-

deed, many of the tendencies which are reputed to be bad may well turn out to be very valuable assets. For instance, there are the following tendencies which seem to strengthen the modern monogamic family:

Development of the monogamic ideal through education, public opinion, enrichment of the human qualities in marriage, rather than through legal enforcement alone.

Extension of freedom of women in the home, realizing in practice the desirable division of labor and privileges which constitute the ideal status of monogamy.

Extension of freedom of women outside the home in social, civic, vocational, and industrial opportunities, thus developing and deepening the sense of tolerance and sympathy between men and women.

Extension of ethical concept of the readjustment of life and labor as between men and women, allowing, among other things, increased opportunity for acquaintance between men and women and thus making for better sexual selection and durable family relationships.

Standardization of marriage and divorce laws.

The Following Tendencies seem to intensify the problems of monogamy.

A retrogressive and paradoxical tendency toward the extension of sex freedom in the direction of indefiniteness of sex relations, thus bringing growth to neither individual nor society.

A tendency of the minority toward antisocial ideals of freedom from childbearing and the identification, instead of the equalization, of opportunities of the two sexes.

Tendencies toward instability of the family due to home conditions brought about by social, economic, industrial, and urban situations.

A general unrest and tendency towards pessimism in current discussions, and a readiness to consider the "drifting home" or the broken family as normal.

The Democratic Family. How will society bring out of the conflicting currents and processes the proper adjustment of family relationships? How will the modern woman movement contribute to the strengthening of the family? How may the youth movement be turned into an asset of great strength? These and many other questions may be answered in many ways by study and observation. If one looks again to the history of the family, it may be seen very clearly that the present youth movement as

well as the woman's movement are but logical developments. We have pointed out again and again how "authority" has assumed less and less control in all phases of society. In turn we have had participation, coöperation, and democratic representation. In the home, for instance, there were the old days when the father was completely dominant. Woman had little power or right in many decisive issues. It was but natural, therefore, that when she did assume equal privilege and responsibility there would be some tendencies towards extreme action and some conflict. In the same way, the old régime gave the father power of life and death over the children, and even in quite recent times the child had practically no rights. It is but natural, therefore, that when authority in this sense is eliminated the youth movement appears sometimes to go to extremes. As a matter of fact, the family is but becoming democratic even as other institutions. Neither matriarchy nor patriarchy, nor yet paidarchy, as now seems to be the case, but democracy, should be the portion of the family.

The Family and Other Institutions. The present complaint that the family is ruled by children and youth, having come into what we have just called a stage of paidarchy, is based upon perhaps a very normal development. In the church, authority is no longer dominant as it used to be. In the state and society at large, no individual or monarch has the right of life, death, property, and happiness over any other individual. Thus authority in the despotic sense has gone and has been transferred through judicial processes and representation to the group itself. In industry there can no longer be slavery; "hiring and firing" and wages and hours are no longer merely individual matters. Likewise, in the school similar developments have taken place, corporal punishment, for instance, being banned by formal regulations in most systems. It is inevitable, therefore, that authority in the home should become qualified in much the same way that it has in other institutions. The transformation, instead of leading to poorer training of children and the disorganization of the home, ought to be guided into the same democratic channels as are being sought in other institutions. Thus children, given more responsibility and more participation in the ordering of their own affairs, ought to develop into stronger individuals and better citizens. Thus the child welfare movement, too, giving new emphasis to the place of

the child in human society, ought to develop stronger individuals. We ought rather to rejoice, therefore, that the family, even as other institutions, is becoming one of the units of democracy, and that through the new order it will see its functions set forth in clearer relations to the individual and to the other institutions. All of this, however, must depend upon a better training for parenthood and home making and a better understanding on the part of men and women of each other and of the newer demands. These problems will be discussed in the next chapter.

Critical Stages. It must be admitted, however, that the home and family seem to be passing through a critical stage of readjustment. We have pointed out in our earlier chapters some of the dangers which face the family because of the tendency of many individuals and institutions to confuse superficial form, as found in custom, habits, and life in the home, with the more fundamental relationships of the family itself. Because of the changing situations in which women and children find themselves in their home life, and in which the old customs and habits are necessarily altered, there are many who seem inclined to feel that the family itself is in danger. Because the home life and the inherited standards of men, including the double standard of morality, have often enslaved the individual members of the family, some students have argued, therefore, that the family itself was at fault. Manifestly this is no more true than to say that the institution of government is wrong because certain forms of government do not render justice to their citizens. There has arisen, therefore, not only a general complaint and pessimism about the family, but a wholesome desire to check up on the entire situation. In this demand for free discussion and more study there has naturally arisen the need for reviewing the bases and the advantages of the present monogamic form of the family. Growing out of this discussion also are scores of definite suggestions, some philosophical, some visionary, some reverting to primitive times, nevertheless many which justify careful study and inquiry in the establishing of a proper basis upon which judgment may be formed.

The Monogamic Family. It is important to look upon the present form of the family as the logical growth and development of all its social past. It must not be looked upon as merely a formal institution, arbitrarily set up by society or scriptural in-

junction. Man did not, on some happy morning, arise and say, "Go to, let us establish monogamy as the form of marriage"; but rather it has evolved as the best form of human survival, the surest institution for human growth and happiness. Moreover, monogamy has always, even in the midst of other forms of marriage, existed and tended to prevail over all others. It has its analogy and comparative basis in much of the animal world. Wherever other forms of the family have been tried they seem to have failed and resulted in considerable havoc. Monogamy, then, has not only developed gradually and logically, but it has come to be sanctioned by each of the other great social institutions. Our present problem of study, therefore, seems to be one in which we may first review the advantages and bases of monogamy, and then study as exhaustively as possible the defects and limitations of present family organization and sanction. Out of such study should come the better ordering and stabilization of the family relationships.

Professor Ellwood's Six Points. Professor Ellwood, in his *Sociology and Social Problems*, summarizes the social advantages of monogamy under six headings. First he points out that the number of the two sexes is everywhere approximately equal and that the biological necessity of pairing off exists in the human species. In the second place monogamy guarantees the better care of children by decreasing the death rate and in giving the child continuity of social nurture. The monogamic family further contributes to the tender emotions, including filial and parental affection, the spirit of altruism, which has been considered a fundamental of the social nature. Again, monogamy tends to strengthen institutional ties, prevents the confusion of kinship and blood relationship, and therefore would give a better basis for eugenics and future marriage relationships. Professor Ellwood's fifth point is that monogamy favors development of high types of religion and morals which is true not only at the present time but among ancient groups. Finally, he points out that monogamy provides for the care of the parents and adds a richer human quality to individuals as they grow older. Professor Ellwood cites evidence of this both among primitive peoples and especially in the history of the Roman family.

Individuality and the Family. What seems to be a paradox in the modern discussion of the family is found in our present

tendency to lay more emphasis on the individual. The monogamic family, if developed in accordance with the newer ideals, may well give more range to personality and individuality. The last point mentioned above is an example. Thus through the monogamic family the husband and wife, the father and mother, may develop continuity of character and personality and maintain their growth and development until old age, because of unbroken relationships and resources. Likewise the expression of affection and the sustained association with other individuals would tend to develop personality. It must be understood, of course, that such results are possible only if neither the man nor the woman holds complete power over the life, liberty, and happiness of other members. So much has this principle of personality, companionship, and culture been emphasized that Professor Knight, for instance, has suggested the "companionate," instead of the family, where a man and a woman wish to establish the home without necessarily establishing the complete sociological family with children. This liberal attitude towards relationships between men and women is itself a sanction of the monogamic form of family life and becomes an important step in strengthening family relationships. Similar studies might be made of the relation between the family and industrial and economic situations.

The Breaking Down of the Family. The technical measurement of the present breaking down of the family may be made most readily in divorce records. Whatever the causes or grounds or justice of divorce, the fact remains that a divorce automatically breaks up a family and when it is realized that there is one divorce for every seven American marriages the increasing disintegration of the family as an institution cannot be gainsaid. A study of the situation, however, will reveal many facts of great importance. The woman with economic freedom and opportunity to-day is not willing to be the slave of circumstances which she accepted as a matter of necessity a few generations ago. She is not dependent for a living or social standing upon husband or male relatives. The community no longer rates her arbitrarily as the vassal of economic and social custom. There is ample evidence to show that moral conditions among men are much better than formerly. There is much evidence to show that the attitude of men towards the woman in the home and their recognition of her partnership

in all the affairs of life are much more generous. Many of the increased divorces must be explained, therefore, on the ground of readjustment in these changing times. Manifestly, there is need, first of all, for careful study and considerable poise in our attitude towards the new situation. There are some who advocate the making of divorce more difficult, and others who would have it easier to obtain. At the present time there are perhaps two score grounds for divorce in the different states. An examination of the divorce records indicates, however, that the causes of divorce are largely products of the modern age, and that therefore the study of this problem, like all others, must be carried on in connection with that of other social problems and of institutional change. Here again comprehensive study and social science ought to come to the rescue.

Causes of Divorce. In addition to social change there are other general social causes which may be cited, although it is not possible to determine any definite relation between these general causes and divorce in particular. Professor Ellwood summarizes the causes under ten general heads. They are, he says, the decay of religion, the growing spirit of individualism, the woman's movement, the growth of modern industrialism, the growth of modern cities, the higher standards of living, the lateness of marriage, the popularization of law, easy divorce, and the passing of authority. Professor Groves ascribes the instability of the family perhaps to two possibly larger reasons, the love of luxury and the lack of preparation for home life. Some of these matters will be discussed in the next chapter which deals with the practical relationships in the modern home and family.

Divorce Statistics. Professor Ogburn has made a study of the marital status of the population of the United States using the census reports as a basis for his comparisons. His studies, to be published at an early date, show that the percentage of divorced persons increased by 0.4 of the population between the years 1890 and 1920, the proportion reported as divorced in 1890 being 0.3 per cent and in 1920, 0.7 per cent. Moreover, as to the actual number of divorces, there were 33,000 granted in 1890 and 112,000 in 1916 which was 3.4 times as many. Furthermore, it was found that the estimated number of divorced persons living in 1916 was 3.1 times as large as the number of divorced persons in 1890.

Therefore, the increase in the number of divorces granted was very nearly the same as the increase in the number of divorced persons living in the United States. The largest percentage of divorced persons in 1920 was found between the ages of 35 and 55 years, and there were more divorced women than divorced men, the percentage of women divorced being 0.8 and of men 0.6. With reference to place of residence, there was a larger percentage of the urban population divorced than of the rural,—0.8 as against 0.5. A comparison of divorced persons among various racial, native, and foreign-born in five selected states revealed that the largest percentage of divorces was found among the Negroes and the lowest percentage among the foreign-born whites.

Marriage. In the next chapter we shall study something of the institution of marriage aside from its larger bearing upon the family. Nevertheless in this chapter we must not forget the importance of marriage itself in the whole question of the family as a basic institution. We shall refer again to Keyserling's *The Book of Marriage* in which twenty-four authors discuss the fundamental principles underlying marriage in its many phases. The advanced student will wish to inquire into many of these phases. Besides the introductory statement of the marriage problem the book is divided into two parts. In the first part, looking at "marriage in space and time," the authors discuss the genesis of marriage, marriage and matriarchy, the ideals of marriage in India, China, and Continental Europe. They discuss further the problem of marriage and the changing woman, marriage in the new world, marriage in transition, the marriage of the future, and other phases relating to economic and social cultures. In the second part marriage is treated "as an eternal problem." A dozen chapters delve into the proper choice of partners, the physical and spiritual harmony, marriage as an art, a psychological relationship, a task, a fetter, a fulfillment, an analytic situation, marriage as self-development, as mystery, and as sacrament. Thus it may be seen that marriage with its complex history and important relationships is not something to enter into as a mere incident or accident. It is not surprising to find the stability of the family shaken when marriage, which is of such fundamental, structural, and functional importance, is undertaken with so much ignorance and thoughtlessness.

The Increase in Marriage. In Professor Ogburn's study, referred to above, it was found that the proportion of the married population has been increasing decade by decade and that the census records of 1920 showed a larger percentage married than at any previous decade of which we have record. In 1890 there were 55.3 per cent of the population fifteen years of age and over married, while in 1920 there were 59.9 per cent married, an increase of 4.6 per cent during the thirty years. With reference tc age groups over fifteen years of age, it was found that there was a tendency for marriage to increase in the earlier years and to decrease in the later years. However, this tendency was more marked among men than among women and was more characteristic of urban than of rural communities. It was found that there had been a noticeable increase in marriage in each of the various racial and nativity groups, accentuated in that of the native whites of foreign or mixed parentage, the increase among them being more than twice as great as in any other group. Since the census records did not classify marital status by urban and rural distribution prior to 1910, the comparison between these two groups of the population was confined to the one decade from 1910 to 1920. In this decade there was an increase in the proportion of the population married in both urban and rural communities, but the increase was greater among the urban than among the rural population.

Remedies. The next chapter, which will discuss the more practical relationships in the family, will itself be a study of the larger remedies which we may hope to prescribe for the instability of the modern family. There are, nevertheless, a number of technical remedies which are being suggested and which need further study. Perhaps the most common one is the making of uniform laws respecting marriage and divorce in the several states. Other laws recommended are those requiring a certain length of time to elapse between the issuing of a license and the marriage ceremony, providing for the examination of the applicants for mental, physical, and social health and hygiene, and various laws giving more equitable rights to the mother and wife. Courts of domestic relations and other social work efforts have been set up and are yielding a great deal of information. Programs of social and mental hygiene and of broader education promise much. It seems likely, however, that the most important efforts towards stabilizing the family

will be found in the scientific study of all factors concerned, in new, vigorous, and wholesome education of youth for social responsibility and especially for parenthood and home-making, and in the consequent readjustment of social standards and attitudes between men and women. There is much evidence to show that not only the average run of youth but that graduates of our men's and women's colleges are ridiculously ignorant concerning many of the most important phases of life. A startling situation is found in the fact that our educational institutions, in their assumptions and theory, magnify the importance of the home and family and mete out severe condemnation to any who would criticize or defame this primary institution; while until very recently there could be found none which included the subject in its curriculum.

The Family and Social Leadership. In a study now being made of more than a thousand "failures" with an inquiry into some of the "causes" and sources of their situation, it has been found that more than 70 per cent of the latter can be traced back to the family life. In turn, there are more than a score of specific defects pointed out as basic causes of this failure in family leadership. Recent studies have shown much the same situation in respect to juvenile delinquency and other social problems. Legal and ecclesiastical, civic and social groups have been continuously raising the questions of family leadership; some of them are much exercised over the prospect. And yet is it not to be expected that under certain circumstances such a loss of influence would be inevitable? Does the family not evolve, as do other social institutions? Has the problem of family influence and leadership nothing to do with this growth? Do we expect that the patriarchal system, in which the father had complete power even to life and death over child and wife, will ever be valid again? Is it expected that a new matriarchal system will replace the present order? Or in place of these two, are we in a stage of "paidarchy" or "juvenarchy" in which children are the dominant influence? Rather, in the scheme of progress, is it not natural that all three groups shall work out democracy in the family in somewhat the same way as has been done in other social institutions? And is this not a stirring challenge to new leadership in the strengthening of the family? Will not the final results depend upon the degree to which

the family works out successfully its problem of democratic leadership and internal training, and adjusts itself to the changing industrial and social order? We shall now take up, in the next chapter, the further study of some of the fundamental and natural family relationships.

FOR FURTHER STUDY

For Information

1. Name six functions of the family.
2. What constitutes a high standard of family status?
3. Classify some of the elementary family problems.
4. What tendencies seem to be strengthening the modern monogamic family?
5. What are some of the tendencies tending to disrupt the monogamic relationship?

For Stimulating Thought

6. Discuss the basis of modern attacks upon the family. At heart what lies at the basis of the family?
7. Why is the divorce rate not an adequate index of institutional status of the family?
8. Would it improve the stability of the family to make divorce easier or harder to obtain?
9. What are hopeful aspects of present-day freedom of youth?
10. What has brought about this increased freedom among youth?

For Research and Creative Writing

11. Trace the evolution of monogamy from the earliest recorded days.
12. Expand Professor Ellwood's six points on the social advantages of monogamy.
13. Make a table showing variation in state divorce laws.
14. Show how the monogamic family has arisen by a process of evolution.
15. Make a study of fifty Negro families of varying standards.

For Practical Application

16. What are objective and practical means of increasing the stability of the family?

17. Attempt a measurement of a number of successful families by the standards given in this chapter.
18. Classify various state laws looking to the strengthening of family relationship.
19. Make a list of unwise legislation attempted in the last few years.
20. Point out evidence of the critical stage through which the family to-day is passing.

For Continuity of Effort

21. List twenty good books on family relationships suitable for the school library.
22. What is the local program of the League of Women Voters?
23. In a local community how many lectures are given each year on the family?
24. Show how the family and family relationships are becoming increasingly popular in academic discussion groups and classes.
25. List colleges and universities which give courses on the family.

For Effective Reading

26. For special study: Westermarck's *A Short History of Marriage*, Groves' *Social Problems of the Family*, Popenoe's *Conservation of the Family*, Mowrer's *Family Disorganization*, Spencer's *The Family and its Members.*
27. For sampling or exhaustive reading: Adler, Felix, Bosanquet, H., Calhoun, Dealey, Goodsell, Grant, R., Rathbone, Robertson, I. A., Spencer, A., Westermarck.

CHAPTER XVI

PRACTICAL PROBLEMS OF FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

The Family and Social Development. From the preliminary study of the family in the previous chapter we have seen something of the origin, nature, function, and development of that institution. In the end all the problems of the family reduce themselves to that of social stability, in which the great task of society is enabling the home and family to meet the exacting demands of social change without consequent disruption of such effective form and status as may be necessary for the integrity of society. No one expects social development to stop; no one should expect the family to stop in its growth and adaptation. What, therefore, are the next steps? What, besides study of the situation? What else besides legislation and social work, as indicated in our final chapter and as outlined in the ample reference books suggested? The present chapter will undertake to present three basic considerations in the study of the modern family and in its normal adjustment to modern civilization. The first centers around the attitude of men towards woman and her place in the home and the general changing status of women in the world. This problem in particular gives scope to our statement earlier in the book which emphasized the importance of right attitudes towards social situations. It assumes that we must get to the very bottom of the difficulties of family relationships before we attempt to prescribe remedies. The second major problem lies in the neglected field of education in parenthood, sex hygiene, and general social problems. Its consideration will emphasize the importance of general studies in human relations as well as specific formal studies of marriage and society. The third problem centers in the practical matters of economic and community adjustment in home building, community relations, country and city life, and in practical coöperative means of child nurture and child welfare. This chapter, therefore, is an adventure in the study of a situation which every young man or woman may face sooner or later.

Common-Sense Attitude. Our first assumption is that the student, or the prospective husband or wife or father or mother, is willing to approach the subject of family relationships in such a fair and common-sense way as may yield permanent results. It may be all right for the youth of the modern generation to appear "hard-boiled" and venturesome in spirit when making minor experiments, but when it comes to matters which must inevitably affect his whole life and social relationships, he will clearly wish to be reasonable in his approach. The business man approaches his biggest projects with careful inquiry and constant checking up, open-minded and eager to find the truth. It is obvious that such momentous decisions as are involved in the establishing of a home or a family or of refusing to establish these relationships are of the greatest practical importance. It is one of the anomalies of human history that mankind has been eager to gather all information possible, to take wholesome advice and to call in all the assistance possible when he approaches questions relating to his material life, while in matters of his social and spiritual happiness he has assumed that mere chance, spontaneity, and carelessness were sufficient. If we asked why mankind has been so careful in other matters and so careless in these, the only accurate answer which we could give would be "just because."

The Harmonious Family as a Summum Bonum. Our next question to ask might be phrased: Does the harmonious family form the nearest complete basis for the happiness and prosperity of the individual as well as the necessary foundation of society as previously set forth? What are some of the factors to study in answering this question? If we omit for the time being the instinctive love for home, and the more sentimental and inherited loneliness of the individual outside of home relationships, there are still other important factors which will offer ample data. What evidence, for instance, is there to show that the physical health of man and woman is best realized in the complete companionship and richness of emotional experience together? What evidence, if any, is there in the negative? What evidence is there to show how completely the success and driving power of the man in business, in the professions, in creative effort, are assured by his subjective happiness, his emotional experiences, and his harmonious life as found in the happy home relationships? What evidence is

there to indicate that opposite conditions in home and in personal relationships handicap the individual in his personal and social successes? What evidence is there to prove that the whole tone and success of the woman in the home, in her business and in her social relationships, and in her health are dependent upon the same wholesome subjective harmony as found in the experience of the congenial home? Opposed to this would be the constant suppression, worry, misunderstanding, neurosis, physical and mental illness resulting from the tension and strain of maladjustment either in or outside the home. How much truth is there in the statement of many modern psychologists that the whole character and future of children will be largely colored by the harmony or lack of harmony between parents. What greater problem of study or what greater tasks of social adjustment, therefore, than the establishment of conditions through which a larger and larger number of normal homes and families may be developed to meet the needs of the individual and modern social conditions? Let us begin, therefore, our study with the most elementary and common-sense questions.

Complex Factors. There is perhaps no better place to begin our study of maladjustments in the family relationship than with those attitudes of men towards women which have been inherited over the centuries. In a subsequent chapter we shall point out thirty or forty of the inequalities which have been the heritage of woman in the home, industry, community, law, and other relationships. There, too, we shall study some of the important changes in woman's attitude towards life, work, home, children, the world at large. Before analyzing some of the common fallacies it is important to remind ourselves that these changes not only explain many of the situations but add to the present difficulty and confusion. In general, we may review these confusing elements entering into the newer freedom of women and consequently challenging the old attitudes of men under seven heads:

Industrial conditions, offering freedom and opportunity and economic independence to women; varied occupations to all members of the family; and tending to take from the home many aspects of coöperative enterprise.

Urban conditions, demanding readjustment of practices and standards with reference to home life, housing conditions, and occupations.

Social attitudes, especially the enlarged sphere and more generous

interpretation of woman's part in social life: on the part of men; on the part of women; on the part of the general public.

Social ideals, with reference to the size of the family, standards of living, ideas of sex, democracy in the family.

Education, with reference to the higher training and culture of women, later marriage, social hygiene, vocational education.

Divorce, as arising from these and other causes, and as extending in scope and meaning.

Other miscellaneous conditions incident to the new era of historical development following the war, and social confusion in abundance.

Representative Fallacies. As is true in the case of many social problems, the basis of present difficulties in family life is often found in certain fallacies and assumptions inherited from other days. Many such assumptions have not been thought out at all and will not bear critical analysis. Continuing our examination into the question of man's attitude towards woman and common misunderstandings and maladjustments between husband and wife, we may examine some of the fallacies most commonly found. One of the first of these is the fallacy that the marriage ceremony itself changes the whole nature, character, and desires of the woman. Simple illustrations will suffice to refute such a fallacy. Here is a young man, for instance, whose chief admiration for a young woman is found in her skill in playing tennis and her general companionable fellowship with men and women. He marries this young woman. Immediately he is astonished to find that she still loves to play tennis, still likes the jolly companionship of other men and women, is still full of the wholesome vigor of life. He seems surprised and offended that the routine of home duties and of devotion to his own interests are not sufficient to satisfy her. Thus what he boasted about to his friends as being her most admirable qualities become his chief cause of complaint. Similar illustrations are found in other fields. A young woman whose talent for music or art or literature has been her chief interest and attraction finds herself suddenly expected to repress it. If one wishes to see how untenable such an assumption is he might apply the same principle to the man. Does the marriage ceremony forbid the man to continue with his athletic club, his swimming, his hunting, his lodge, his lunches with friends at the office, his attendance upon business conferences and banquets?

Romance and Marriage. A second fallacy, all too common, is the assumption that courtship and romance naturally cease after marriage. The qualities of personality, the charm of manner, the courtesy, respect, and esteem of two persons for each other which were the basis of common admiration are not expected to continue, so the common view runs, after the first few months of marriage. Thus are violated in common practice not only the essence of common sense but the principles underlying our modern aspiration for the development of personality and for the enjoyment of mutual relationships. By romance and courtship are of course not meant certain formal and superficial acts requiring an unreasonable standard of etiquette, but merely the continuation of the companionship and confidence as well as ordinary courtesy and esteem. A similar fallacy, perhaps coming in this same category and contributing to it, is that which assumes that sex experience exists only for the pleasure of man and that woman should in no wise participate in such emotional relationships except in a purely passive way. Woman, according to the old assumption, must know nothing of sex hygiene, must not study the important essentials of sex life, and must be considered solely the subject and tool of man. Examination of such an attitude and its results furnishes evidence to show that much lack of respect, of sympathy and of love grow out of this one-sided and unreasonable supposition.

Other Fallacies. Other fallacies very much like the above assumptions are abundant. One is the fallacy that sex expression is purely physical, whereas society's best experience and most advanced knowledge declare that its greater emphasis ought to be intellectual and spiritual. The student may search out many evidences of this. One is the intellectual stimulus for creative work and enjoyment of life which comes through the perfected companionship of men and women. Other evidences are found in the mental and spiritual qualities which are reflected in the higher types of social relationship as opposed to the lower physical type. Still others are found in the secondary results of sexual life such as the wholesome growth and development and the inspiration which comes to the artist, the poet, the scientist. This fallacy is very closely related to another which assumes that matters of sex, instead of constituting the highest and most creative expression

of human life, are low and sordid. This in turn is closely related to another fallacy which assumes that matters of sex must not be discussed or studied or given their normal place in life. One of the greatest paradoxes in the history of social life is the fact that men, knowing from experience that their sex life determines the quality and the very existence of their posterity, should still taboo its study. So far from objecting to knowledge of social and sex hygiene, there are many who hold that each family ought to study continuously the wholesome normal phases of this subject.

Woman's Place. Concerning other fallacies the student may make many inquiries. The development of the human race, the realization of human ideals, have set man far apart from animals, so that the old assumption that sex expression is solely for the purpose of reproduction has resulted in perhaps as large a body of futile discussion as exists on any other subject. But perhaps the most common fallacy is that relating to "woman's place in the home." This subject is discussed at some length in another chapter, but its bearing upon the misunderstandings and maladjustments in the home is of special importance here. Many of the original functions of the home have been taken over by school, community, and other institutions. Much of the routine of housekeeping has been simplified. The attitude of society towards woman in industry, in the professions, in civic life has changed. Man's occupation in the cities, keeping him away from the home, has increasingly left it without his presence or participation. All these things necessarily have an important bearing upon the place which woman herself shall occupy in the home. The common assumption that men should have their companions, of both sexes in the associations of business, of culture and civic affairs, strangely enough supports a contradictory assumption that woman should not have similar associations. These seemingly commonplace factors, nevertheless, give rise to a very large number of conflicts in the home, which in turn lead to more important difficulties that form the cause of incompatibility and separation.

Social Education. Another remarkable fallacy is found in the assumption that youth needs no education for the great problems of parenthood and family relationships. For industrial work he must be educated, for his participation in the professions he

must have long and careful training, for any of the vocations by which he shall clothe and feed himself he must have ample schooling. But of the most important functions in life, those of his closest human relationships and the highest development of his personality and the reproduction of the race, he must grow up in complete ignorance. This universal ignorance of young people is found with reference to general matters of sex, with reference to the nurture of children, and with reference to marital relationships as already discussed. Prevailing ignorance in sex, as shown by the graduating classes of men's and women's colleges, is matched only by the tragedy and suffering which follow. The almost total ignorance of young parents concerning children is not limited to the poor or uneducated but is found among the wealthiest and most cultured classes. Studies of child welfare have revealed malnutrition in the children of the rich as well as in the children of the poor. The pride of many young mothers of the well-to-do in their ignorance of matters relating to children is matched by the wistful complaint of other groups over their lack of knowledge and the suffering it causes. In this volume we have raised the question as to whether this common sense and functional education of the next generation is not the most important single task in the whole realm of family relationships and social progress.

The Field of Instruction. The field of instruction, which is a wide one, will cover some of the most important problems and most critical situations of modern times. It will cover also some of the fundamental social and biological backgrounds of human society. Such instruction should treat especially the whole history, structure, changing status, and future of sex hygiene and social hygiene, utilizing the great amount of new scientific material and the contributions of psychiatry and social work. Instruction ought to include much of the new data on the differences between men and women. It should treat of the physiology of individual development, of reproduction, of heredity and environment, and of the laws of mental and physical growth. It should include also practical matters of hygiene, prevention of disease in the home, general sanitation, the importance of the hygiene of food and clothing, the family budget, housing and insurance, together with various modern situations in which are involved possible economic pitfalls. Some aspects of these problems have been approached

in the previous chapter on the family, but others must be outlined more in detail for further study.

Marriage. Marriage itself should be studied in its own right as well as in its relation to the institution of the home and family. The amount of material available for such study is now very large and the student will find no difficulty in discovering data concerning both its structure and function. We have pointed out already the two aspects of the family and its stability. The one has to do with personality and happiness of the individuals and the other has to do with the progress of the race. The same aspects appear, and perhaps more vividly, in the case of marriage. Ungern-Sternberg, in his chapter on "The Marriage of the Future" in *The Book of Marriage*, says: "Marriage is of a twofold character: first it is an institution, and secondly, it is a purely personal relationship between a man and a woman. The institutional character of marriage has prevailed through the centuries. Personal affection was not an important consideration in the conclusion of a marriage; marriage itself was a sacrament of the church, and as such was indissoluble. Under these circumstances the question of subjective happiness had not the significance which it has achieved in modern times. Marriage was at the same time security, destiny, and consecration; it was the background of the life of the man and the frame of the woman's existence." It is pointed out that in the history of marriage the more primitive partnerships and later its economic basis, together with the institutional sanction of the state and of the church, gave marriage an institutional form which necessarily changed as these factors changed. These alterations, together with the modern tendency towards individualism and the development of personality, make it important for the modern student to consider more and more his personal obligations, his personal opportunity, and all of the personal relationships involved in marriage.

Marriage as a Supreme Consummation. It is necessary for the student to recognize the fact that marriage is not an incident or an accident or a merely presumptive destiny, but that it is in itself a supreme objective. Keyserling emphasizes this point when he says: "The fulfilment of that life which is the life of free, creative man is related to these problems, which seem to contradict the idea of a cosmic order ruled by the spirit of goodness and

beauty, much in the same way as melody is related to the violin." He points out further that life with all of its drawbacks is beautiful and "consequently where conjugal happiness is achieved it outweighs all possible suffering." But marriage, which has progressed from the seminatural state to the modern civilized state, becomes more and more a work of art. Yet like all art it demands its sacrifices. It must reach its heights and depths and must have its difficulties and suffering. Nevertheless it is partly because of this adventurous situation that every one "for whom marriage can at all mean a personal problem" seeks its accomplishment. This theory of marriage makes it man's highest attainment. Naturally, if marriage is recognized as of such distinctive nature, of so great importance, of such artistic possibilities, its approach, consummation, and maintenance will assume larger and larger proportions and therefore more stability.

Personalities and Adjustment. For this discussion we have already set up as our most important problem the matter of attitudes and adjustments between men and women. We have pointed out the importance of man's newer adjustment to woman's new part in society. There are, however, other important phases of personal adjustment which involve the "give and take" of mutual understanding, sympathy, and respect. We have referred to the common fallacy in which man has assumed marriage to be an adequate substitute for the expression of a woman's personality and for social activities. There is now that still more important principle of the recognition by each partner in the marriage ceremony of the distinctive personality of the other. Respect for opinions, ideals, habits, privacy of the individual are as important if not more so in the case of the marriage partnership as among individuals in other walks of life. No person can be completely submerged in another without endangering the destiny of both. Count Keyserling quotes Goethe as saying that people who are very intimate must have secrets to withhold from one another because they themselves are not secrets to each other's eyes.

> Man and woman, he says, should never endeavor to be completely merged in one another; on the contrary, the more intimate they are, the more strictly should they cherish their own individuality, and it should be the unwritten law that neither must encroach on the rights of the other. In the case of highly differentiated people, conjugal happiness wholly

depends on this sound principle of keeping one's distance; and in this respect, a by no means unimportant art is to sense the right time for separating for a short while. But in reality this principle is equally valid everywhere. Its application is obvious as regards the maintenance and preservation of passion; in this case, if no restrictions are imposed, allurements soon fade, just as a loose string yields no musical tone.

Mutual Development. It is scarcely possible to overemphasize the importance of the development of the personalities and of a continuity of harmony in marriage. No matter by what incidence or upon what basis the partnership was first stimulated or consummated, it is very likely that its permanent existence will be upon some other basis. Except where sex assumes abnormal manifestations it must inevitably become a minor factor in the sum total of relationships, adjustments, interests. Indirectly, as has been pointed out, it ought to assume its large part in the art and harmony of companionship and in its direct stimulation of secondary physical, mental, and spiritual development. But unaccompanied by other qualities or harmonies it falls rapidly into elements of discord. One of the ironies most commonly observed in modern marriages is found in the emptiness which follows companionships based upon outward vivacity, form, and apparent sex attraction. Physical satiety is essentially quickly achieved, leaving a poor residuum upon which to found spiritual and mental harmony. If this was nature's way of perpetuation in the older days of struggle, in the modern era at least it comes at a high cost in maladjustment and inharmonious relationships.

Sex and Marriage. The considerations above mentioned emphasize the importance of recognizing the proper place which sex should have in the marriage relationship. Special students of marriage, many psychiatrists who have studied hundreds of cases of happiness and unhappiness in the marriage relationship, have come to ascribe a very great deal of importance to the rôle of sex in adjustment. There are some who go so far as to say that a formula can be worked out with almost scientific precision. In substance they maintain that whenever there is friction and lack of adjustment, incompatibility, grounds for separation and divorce, nervous conflicts, or whatever other expressions of lack of harmony, there will always be found first of all failure in sex harmony. They go further and write the formula also in its positive

meaning to the effect that wherever there is sexual compatibility there is rarely open conflict. This sexual compatibility or incompatibility works itself subconsciously into the whole character and personality of man and woman, father and mother, and especially children. For the formula has been carried still further to show that the great majority of socially deficient children come from families in which the parents are not sexually compatible. This whole field, therefore, is one of the most important for further study.

Remediable Situations. The importance ascribed by many of the modern students to sex in society appears to place a great responsibility upon the study of sex and sex hygiene. The formulas above mentioned might seem to indicate a pessimistic outlook except for certain other very definite situations and probable discoveries. The first of these, of course, is the increasing knowledge and study of sex matters. A second is the increasing liberality and common-sense attitude towards the frank facing of facts. The third and most important is the growing recognition of the fact that these matters of sex relationships can be adjusted in most cases. We have referred already to the several false assumptions in which sex has been considered primarily a mere physical mode of gratification for man. The history of mankind offers abundant evidence of the subjection of woman to this creed. Case studies of marriage show overwhelmingly that man has rarely ever considered the desires, feelings, wishes, sensibilities, pleasure, happiness of woman in this respect. From first relationships throughout life he has neglected the most fruitful opportunities for wholesome companionships and richness of experience. Statistics in cases studied show that the great majority of women are not even aware that consummation of physical union may bring to them the same fruition of spiritual and physical pleasure which has commonly been attributed to man only. Thus in this single fallacy, ignorance and undiscovered truth may be found the key to larger harmony.

Biological and Hereditary Backgrounds. We have called attention to the importance of eugenics in the study of family and of population. The student should understand much of the biological and hereditary foundations upon which eugenics is based. If the representative citizen is more ignorant upon any other im-

portant matter than sex it is probably upon the physiological and biological backgrounds of his family. Instruction should therefore include in practical ways the physiological basis of heredity as found in asexual and bisexual reproduction among lower animals, in comparative studies of higher animals, in the germ plasm, and various applications of Mendelian postulates. From these he will come to understand many of the principles of eugenics, its limitations, and its applications to the human family. His instruction should cover, further, some of the principles involved in individual development, from the cellular structure of animals through the whole process of embryonic development in the human being. It should include, again, the physiology of reproduction, the causes and prevention of social diseases, and general public hygiene relating to the home. He should recognize the importance of a budget in the home and its importance to harmony in the adjustment of economic responsibility. He should know something of the importance of savings and home building as a means of diminishing the hazard of illness. He should learn something of the danger of living beyond family income, and of artificial standards of living. His instruction should extend further to important facts about children and the relationships of parenthood. We shall devote another chapter to the whole problem of children and child welfare. It is important here simply to emphasize the problems of parenthood.

Education for Parenthood. Alongside the social education already described as essential for the student and citizen is instruction for parenthood. Four phases of this appear to be of special importance in this discussion. The one is the special sphere and duties of the mother. This will of course involve the general backgrounds already referred to but especially it will include many other matters of the mother's relation to her children in this changing era. The neglect of the father's part in the control and nurture of children is sometimes illustrated by the fact that the National Parent-Teacher Association has commonly invited only women to be members. Even in this ultramodern age fathers may accurately be called parents. The task of man in industry as well as the new vocations of women thus make the problem of parenthood far different from what it used to be. The third essential need is knowledge, on the part of both father and mother,

of childhood. And the fourth is a clearer understanding of the youth movement and sympathy with some of its demands and troubles. In each of these four phases the prevailing ignorance, fortunately, can be matched with plenty of information and practical instruction obtainable by any one who may desire it. The fact that the schools and colleges are coming to recognize the importance of these subjects, and the trend towards adult education, gives encouraging evidence of progress in this field.

Members of the Family. The problems distinctively relating to the father and to the mother in the family are, however, also closely related to practical problems which concern other members of the family. Besides the technical problems of child welfare, which will be discussed shortly, there are many practical issues that have to do with the discipline of children, training of boys and girls, attitude of parents towards the first child or the youngest child, and many other situations arising out of conflict between children in the family. There are, too, the important problems in which the grandparents, in-laws, and various other relatives of the family are involved. Simple illustrations will again emphasize the practical importance of these everyday problems. A father or mother, giving up the old home to live with son or daughter or son-in-law or daughter-in-law brings about a complete change in the life and mental attitude of parents and children alike. In the case of the older people, their rights and privileges are limited, their personalities are not respected, and their whole outlook on life becomes one of dependency. On the other hand, the children's rights and privileges are also limited, so that there must necessarily arise conflict of personalities and wills, and confusion results. Thus both parties are right and both sides are wrong, and the solution lies in adjustment among members of the larger family outside of the individual home rather than in it. While these problems are usually considered too commonplace to list in formal social study, they are nevertheless so vitally related to family happiness that the absurdity lies in omitting them rather than in mentioning them. Here, then, is another field for study and for practical work in planning the readjustment of older members of the family. Here again the problem of attitudes will play an important part.

FOR FURTHER STUDY

For Information

1. Discuss three basic considerations in the study of the family.
2. What are some of the fallacies in man's attitude toward woman and marriage?
3. What should a study of the physiological and biological backgrounds of the family include?
4. Name four phases of instruction for parenthood.
5. Discuss the relation of problems having to do with members of the family other than the father and mother.

For Stimulating Thought

6. Why has marriage which affects man's whole life and social relationships been so little understood and studied?
7. What are the bases of a prevailing tendency to make a chief subject of jokes the husband, wife, or marriage?
8. What do you mean to-day by "common-sense" ways of avoiding strife in the family?
9. What are the standards for the "harmonious family"?
10. Is modern man "right"? Is modern woman "right"?

For Research and Creative Writing

11. Write the story of the tasks of a woman of the 90's and one of the present.
12. Make case studies of a half dozen instances of family disorganization.
13. Make a list of present-day disabilities of the woman college graduate.
14. Trace the evolution of a family misunderstanding from small incidents to larger discord.
15. Tabulate a year's local divorces in a given area by causes.

For Practical Application

16. Outline a series of discussions of fellowship standards among young men and among young women.
17. What local studies of social hygiene ought to be made?
18. In the most successful marriages of your observation what characterized the relationship between the man and woman?

19. Outline a program for instruction in the problems of family relationships.
20. Give evidence to indicate that an harmonious family life is conducive to individual development and adjustment.

For Continuity of Effort

21. In what ways does the study of sex and society appear more important than formerly?
22. What progress is being made in "education for parenthood"?
23. What are local parent-teacher associations doing toward a study and discussion of family problems?
24. How often have phases of family problems appeared on women's club programs in a given city?
25. Make a list of selected books which every married man and woman ought to read.

For Effective Reading

26. For special study: Groves' *The Social Problems of the Family*, Spencer's *The Family and its Members*, Keyserling's *The Book of Marriage*, Sanger's *Happiness in Marriage*, *The New Republic Symposium* "Concerning Parents."
27. For sampling or exhaustive reading: Aldington, Baker, E. D., Balzac, Blacker, Broadhurst, Bull, Cooper, J. M., Groves, Keyserling, Lay, Meyer, Popenoe, Ramus, Richardson, F. H., Royden, Sanger, Westermarck, Wise.

CHAPTER XVII

CHILDREN AND SOCIETY

The Age of the Child. There are so many angles from which to approach the study of children in their relation to society that the student may well wonder where to begin. We have already suggested one important line of attack in our previous chapter dealing with family relationships. We have suggested another in our discusssion of population. Still other aspects will appear in the chapters on the youth movement and the social curriculum of the school. The sentimental viewpoint will immediately occur to the student as one which has occupied a large place in the varied discussion of children. The place of the child in literature, in art, and in the heart of the world has been a large one. The coming of Christianity, with its "Suffer little children," ushered in a new era of civilization. The whole modern movement of child welfare has accentuated and summarized the new place which the child has attained in modern civilization. One of the most valuable studies in this whole field is that which deals with processes and programs of child welfare, being prepared by Henry W. Thurston, of the New York School of Social Work and C. C. Carstens of the Child Welfare League of America. In this volume the history of the child welfare movement is illustrated by individual examples of child treatment from the earliest days to the present, and the modern situation is illustrated through programs of state, county, and city efforts for the promotion of child welfare.

The Child as a Basic Factor. In our opening chapters we pointed out the importance of considering the individual and his social development as the basis upon which society might build a better civilization. The individual is inevitably, of course, the first unit in the social fabric. But behind the mature individual, the child must be the basis upon which the individual may be built. Behind the whole problem of population, the number and quality of children must determine the size and nature of our future populations. Behind the problems of citizenship, it is a common-

place to speak of the child of to-day as the citizen of to-morrow. In terms of labor, of the professions, of creative art, and of all the objective ends of society, the quality of future achievements must be more and more gauged by the children who are now growing up. The survival of the human race itself, with its mental and spiritual attributes not vouchsafed to the animal world, becomes possible only in survival in the preservation of children through foresight, humanity, and programs of child welfare. If one wished to emphasize the indispensability of children in society one might recall the importance which some of the nations placed during the World War upon increasing their birth rates as a means of actual physical survival. All these phases of child welfare and many others may be cited as an incentive to the student to eschew sentimentality and consider the problem in its broader aspects.

Historical Development. Perhaps in no field of social work has progress been more rapid than in that dealing with child welfare. The history of child welfare will reveal in many ways important epochs in the history of society. The child placed by the parent in the arms of the burning Moloch as a sacrifice to propitiate the gods seems to us moderns a victim of the lowest savagery. The ceremony of *tollere*, in which the Roman father lifted up the newborn child to see whether he would accept it or put it out to perish, reads like a fable to the modern youth. These extremes, however, in the complete power of life and death held by the parent over children, have been followed, in various ages, by similar power exercised in milder forms. It is only in comparatively recent years that the rights of the child have been recognized in practical ways. Even within the last generation, and in some places perhaps at the present time, there is still a tendency of parents to believe that the children are their property and may be utilized as assets in child labor. The social responsibility of parents and of the community at large for the welfare of children may therefore be looked upon as an index of the modern social movement. What, then, are the fundamentals involved in the modern program of child welfare? What are the "minimum essentials"? What are the methods and disciplines involved in bringing to pass the ideals of child welfare? What are the agencies and means whereby society conserves its greatest resources?

A Social Program. We may consider first some of the essential conditions of the social program which is planned to guarantee each child its full measure of opportunity. In *The Family and Its Members* Mrs. Spencer gives the following nine conditions which ought to be secured for every child:

Two parents, to secure in advance a favorable social position.

A competent mother, to insure his first two or three years of life in health, happiness, and growing power.

A competent father, to stand back of the mother and help make a home adequate at least to the minimum of normal life's demands.

Community surroundings that will make possible the successful achievement of parental duty.

Census provisions for vital and social statistics that will make it sure that every child is counted in the population of his nation, state, and community, and that he is accounted for in all social relationships.

State protection against industrial exploitation, vicious influences, harmful use of leisure time, and generally unwholesome conditions.

Health standards in the community, fixed by experts and maintained in essentials by public provisions.

Education standards, fixed by experts and maintained, at least in normal minimum, by community provision.

Such vital relation between the family, the school, the political system, and all cultural opportunities as shall insure to each child his just share of the social inheritance to which all are heir.

Minimum Standards. A conference on child welfare standards, called at Washington by the President of the United States in 1919, and attended by representatives of America, Belgium, France, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, and Serbia, undertook to set down certain minimum standards for child welfare. This conference divided its report into three sections dealing with child labor and education, public protection of the health of mothers and children, and children in need of special care. The conference also considered certain economic and social desiderata such as an adequate wage for the father, wholesome living conditions, proper recreation, the abolition of racial discrimination, and other related problems. Some of these standards will be presented here and will be followed by more recent discussions and standards relating to the preschool child, to the hygiene of maternity and infancy, mothers' aid, juvenile delinquency, and certain progress made in mental hygiene

and in the schools. Still other standards will be studied in our chapter on social work and public welfare.

Children and Employment. The minimum standards adopted by the conference for children entering employment included certain requirements of age varying according to the employment and sex and prohibiting the employment of minors in unhealthy or hazardous occupations which might retard their physical or moral development. The educational minimum required that all children between seven and sixteen years of age must attend school for at least nine months each year, together with certain requirements, for children between sixteen and eighteen, of continuation education when retarded. The physical minimum required a physical examination before entering work and an annual physical examination for all those under the age of eighteen. Furthermore, no minor must be employed more than eight hours a day or forty-four hours a week, and the maximum working day for youths between sixteen and eighteen must be shorter than the working day for adults. An effort was made to establish a minimum basis of pay to cover the necessary cost of proper living. The administration of these requirements was to provide for employment certificates based upon birth certificates, evidence that the child had completed the eighth grade of school, certificates of physical fitness, and certain records and reports to be worked out jointly between the employer and the family or school. School attendance was to be enforced by full-time attendance officers and the local and state work was to be under harmonious supervision. There should be further factory inspection and physical examination by duly authorized inspectors and physicians.

The National Child Labor Committee. The National Child Labor Committee in its October, 1926, *The American Child*, sets forth the following minimum standards for child labor which summarize its present proposals:

I. No child under fourteen to be employed at any gainful occupation.
II. No child under sixteen to be employed:
   1. At any work or in any place dangerous, injurious, or hazardous. Places and occupations known to be dangerous, injurious, or hazardous for children under sixteen should be enumerated in the law, but authority should be delegated to some state board to extend the list.

2. After 7 at night or before 6 in the morning.
3. For more than 8 hours a day, or 6 days or 48 hours a week.
4. During the hours when the public school is in session unless the child has completed the eighth grade or its equivalent.
5. Unless the employer gets a work permit from the proper school official upon the following four conditions: (Except that no work permit is to be required for work in domestic service or agriculture.)
   (a) A promise of employment showing the exact nature of the work.
   (b) Evidence that the child is of legal age for that specific employment.
   (c) Evidence that the child has completed the eighth grade of the public school or its equivalent. If all other requirements are complied with, this should be waived during the time the public school is not in session, a special vacation work permit being issued.
   (d) A statement by an authorized physician showing that he finds the child physically fit for that particular employment.

III. No child under eighteen to be employed at any work or in any place dangerous, injurious or hazardous for children under eighteen. Places and occupations known to be dangerous, injurious or hazardous for children under eighteen should be enumerated in the law, but authority should be delegated to some state board to extend the list.

Normal Life for Children in Need of Special Care. The fundamental rights of childhood have been often enumerated as normal home life, opportunities for education, recreation, vocational preparation for life, and moral, religious, and physical development in harmony with American ideals; and access to the educational and spiritual agencies by which these rights of the child are normally safeguarded. The importance of the state's responsibility for children in need of special care was emphasized. The importance of home life and of adequate income in the home made clear the need of assistance to mothers, the study of which now constitutes one of the chief factors of child welfare. Other such vital factors as state supervision, child placing, institutional care, care of children born out of wedlock, care of physically defective children were considered. The juvenile courts will be discussed in a separate paragraph.

Other Standards. Other standards were set forth with reference to maternity, preschool children, school children, and adolescents. The standards relating to maternity provided through certain clinics or prenatal centers for physical examination, instruction in hygiene, employment of public health nurses, together with concrete requirements as to visits in the home and treatment of the mother by physicians and nurses. Other standards included special clinics, maternity hospitals, the licensing of midwives, coöperation with the home, and general education of the public. With reference to preschool children, there were prescribed birth registration, health centers, dental clinics, children's hospitals, the licensing and supervision of child-caring institutions, and general educational work. Similar standards were set forth for school children and adolescents. These, however, will be treated in separate paragraphs.

National Promotion of Maternity and Infant Hygiene. The most important concrete step looking towards the promotion of welfare and hygiene for maternity and infancy was the Sheppard-Towner Act of 1921, making possible coöperation with the several states. At the close of the fiscal year 1925 all of the states except Connecticut, Illinois, Kansas, Maine, and Massachusetts were coöperating. Under the provisions of this act there is a Federal Board of Maternity and Infant Hygiene which consists of the chief of the Children's Bureau, the Surgeon-General of the Public Health Service, and the United States Commissioner of Education. Since 1922 the Chief of the Children's Bureau has been the duly elected chairman of this board. The plan provides, however, that each state shall initiate its own work, and the federal funds are used as a means of coöperation rather than of control.

Varied Activities. A study of the maternity and infancy programs which have been carried on in the several states reveals a remarkably successful and varied effort. They have enlisted a wide range of organizations with various forms of coöperation between official and private agencies. The report of the Children's Bureau for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1925, shows that more than 18,000 child health conferences were held by the state agencies during that year. A total of 290,800 examinations of infants and preschool children were reported. The child health conference is listed as a teaching agency giving instruction in the general care

of children and accessible to all sections of the state. Many novel ways of reaching the rural areas have been employed, such as healthmobiles, health movie trucks, health caravans. Another important means of child welfare promotion has been child health centers, of which 506 were established during the year. Many states have used the county health unit and combined various duties of nurse and physician. The report estimates that there were more than 300,000 home visits.

Special Phases. The whole program of welfare and hygiene for maternity and infancy involves many interrelated phases. Indeed, the student of social problems will find in these comprehensive plans important data relating to the family, to the school, to public welfare, to public health, as well as to child welfare. Five states, for instance, employed a nutrition specialist, four states put on special campaigns, fourteen states reported nutrition classes, while many of the other states combined the instruction concerning nutrition with their child welfare conferences and clinics. Fifteen states reported dental clinics, and more than 330 dental conferences. Thirteen reported special efforts looking toward the correction of physical defects of children. A total of 3,781 prenatal conferences with more than 36,000 visits, and the establishment of sixty-five new permanent prenatal centers were reported. Much of the activities of the several states was devoted to the care of the mother during confinement, with special attention to the very serious problem of rural isolation where physicians are not available. This problem of isolation, with the consequent suffering of mothers and death of infants, will have special bearing upon our later study of country life problems.

Avenues of Approach. Special efforts and surveys in the field of instruction, supervision, and registration of midwives were reported in about twenty states. The question of inspection and equipping of maternity and infant homes were reported in eleven states; while instruction for mothers was reported in all but eleven states, with more than 1,400 classes. Other efforts included the holding of little mothers' classes in thirty-three states, and in some states various classes of this sort have become a part of the educational program. Special study and efforts are needed in perfecting birth and death registration methods and in enlarging the area of registration. Of course the largest field is that of

general education, and thousands of lectures, general classes, and coöperative educational work among racial groups in various types of audiences were reported from at least forty-two states. Visual instruction and the distribution of literature have been important means of carrying the message. Posters, charts, exhibit material, and other helps have been widely used. There is, of course, great variation in efficiency among the personnel of agencies in the several states, but the whole outlay is most promising.

The Dependent Child. The magnitude of the problem of the dependent child—that is, the child dependent upon the public for support—is demonstrated by statistics gathered by Henry W. Thurston to the effect that in the year 1923 there were nearly a quarter of a million children under the care of institutions, foster homes, and day nurseries. In his paper, "How Much Child Dependency is there in the United States?" and published in the *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work for 1926*, Mr. Thurston cites the census reports for 1923, which showed that there were 140,000 children in institutions, 77,000 receiving some kind of foster home care, 23,000 in day nurseries, and 5,000 in almshouses and other institutions not intended primarily for children. Besides this total of 245,000 children reported by the census there are, says Mr. Thurston, 121,000 living in their own homes under the system of public allowance to mothers, and approximately 220,000 children in their own homes aided by private agencies. This makes a total of 600,000 children receiving aid in whole or in part. There have been two contending parties with reference to the method of caring for dependent children, one favoring the institutional plan and the other the placing-out system in an effort to secure a more normal home environment. Looking toward an adjustment of the controversy, the National Conference of Charities and Correction in 1899 and again in 1906 adopted principles designed to bring about the best possible opportunities for child development. These principles set forth a preference for the foster home and the placing-out system as being superior to the old institutional plan for child caring. Furthermore, the cottage system was proposed as desirable in the case of institutions. Resolutions adopted in 1925 by the Conference on Child Welfare of the Child Welfare Committee of America set forth their approval of the value of home life for

the child, as affirmed by the White House Conference of 1909 and the International Conference of 1919. President Roosevelt is quoted in summarizing the findings of the conference, "Home life is the highest and finest product of civilization. Children should not be deprived of it except for urgent and compelling reasons." Furthermore, the Child Welfare Committee has incorporated into its By-Laws, Article I, Section 2, as its first object: "As far as possible to secure home life for every child, to prevent the placing of the normal dependent child in institutions; to prevent pauperism among children."

Provision for Physically Handicapped Children. According to the U. S. Bureau of Education report for 1924 there were sixty-four schools for the blind reporting in 1921–22 with an enrollment of 4,947 students. There were eight other schools which reported in 1917–18 but failed to report in 1922. When these are included with the latest available data, there are seen to be 5,602 children receiving instruction in state schools for the blind, in city school systems or in private institutions. There is a total of 816 instructors. State schools for the blind predominate with a total of forty-three schools, fourteen others are parts of city school systems and there are six private institutions. A still greater number of children are afflicted with deafness than with blindness. The same census report indicates 154 schools for the deaf reporting in 1922 and four which did not report. In these 154 schools there was a total of 13,815 students and 1,909 instructors. Seventy-five per cent of the students, or 10,738, were enrolled in state schools. There were sixty-one state schools, seventy-four city day schools, and nineteen private schools. Another group of children needing especial care and attention are those who are so crippled that they cannot care for themselves. The U. S. Bureau of Education reports there were in 1918 special classes for crippled children in public and private day schools of six cities: New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Cleveland, and Detroit. In addition, crippled children receive instruction in certain hospitals especially in convalescent hospitals such as the state institutions of Massachusetts, New York, Nebraska, and Minnesota. There are some half dozen other private residential institutions, of which the Widener Memorial School in Philadelphia is a notable example. In many cases free transportation to the school is provided, and

food is furnished free in Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, and Baltimore. In New York and Philadelphia the bulk of the expense is met by private contributions. In many cases, also, surgical and medical attention is provided. For the year 1915–16 there were forty-six special classes in New York for crippled children, with an enrollment of 193 pupils, Chicago had an average enrollment of 304.1 pupils; Cleveland, 127; Detroit, 76; and Baltimore, 77. Harry H. Howett in *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work* for 1925 further cites state programs for the care of crippled children in Minnesota, Ohio, Iowa, Massachusetts, and New York.

Other Physical and Mental Defectives. The U. S. Bureau of Education in 1924 reported that in 1922 there was a total of 214 schools or classes for the mentally defective, 133 of which were classes in city day schools, fifty-one are state institutions, and thirty were private schools. There was a total of 1,956 instructors and 63,399 pupils. Of these students 38,761 were in state institutions, 23,252 were in classes in the city school system, and 1,386 were in private institutions. Thomas H. Haines, Director of the Division on Mental Deficiency, National Committee for Mental Hygiene, New York, stated to the National Conference of Social Work in 1924: "It is quite unlikely that the needs of any single community for special class facilities have been adequately met. In recent surveys of groups of public school children in ten states and two cities comprising a total of 51,191 children, the National Committee for Mental Hygiene has found that in each 10,000, 258 are mentally defective; 284 are of borderline intelligence, 472 are subnormal; and 1,495 are dullards. This gives us a total of 544 per 10,000, or nearly 5½ per cent of all these more than 50,000 children as being either mentally defective or so handicapped that it seemed highly probable that they should have been classed among the feebleminded." Other cases needing especial care are tubercular children for whom open-air schools have been provided; underfed school children for whom experiments have been made in the distribution of free lunches, the penny lunch, the three-cent lunch or lunches at cost; and lastly, those suffering from minor physical defects, comprise according to Mrs. L. I. Dublin and John C. Gebhart in "The Health of the School Child," from the *Proceedings of the National Conference of*

Social Work, 1925, three-fourths of the children in the United States. The report of the National Educational Association for 1918 is cited to the effect that from 50 to 75 per cent of school children have defective teeth, 25 per cent have defective vision, 15 to 25 per cent have adenoids, diseased tonsils, and glandular defects; 1 to 2 per cent have organic heart disease.

The Preschool Child. Perhaps the most comprehensive study of children now being made is that undertaken by the many groups dealing with the preschool child. New clinics and research institutes are being established in various places with a view to obtaining a large body of scientific material. The presumption is that the scientific study of the child and the promotion of his welfare are at least as important as the study of plants, animals, and the physical world. The preschool program will include, of course, studies of heredity, the home environment, the physical development of the child, nutrition, sickness, and hazards, activities, play, work, discipline. Included also will be studies of mental traits and abnormal situations and the national, state, county, and local agencies through which the desired ends may be obtained. In his *Preschool Child Study Programs*, Harold D. Meyer lists twenty-six supplementary programs undertaken by such agencies as health clinics, day nursery schools, kindergartens, child welfare institutes, miscellaneous clinics, and community meetings.

National Agencies. Dr. C. C. Carstens lists the fourteen main national agencies through which child welfare service is rendered to the American family. In all, there are seventy-five public and private agencies promoting child welfare programs, of which forty-seven are in New York, twelve in Washington, three in Philadelphia, three in Boston, two in Chicago, and one each in eight other cities and towns. Of these seventy-five the following are especially emphasized:

1. *The Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor, Washington, D. C.*

   The Bureau is organized as follows:

   I. *Research Divisions:*
      1. Hygiene—of maternity, infancy and childhood.
      2. Industrial—employment of children and the effect of industrial conditions on children.

3. Social Service—the defective, dependent and delinquent child.

II. *Service Divisions:*

1. Statistical.
2. Publication—edits reports, has charge of exhibit material and initiates publicity.

2. *The National Children's Home and Welfare Association, 440 S. Dearborn Street, Chicago, Illinois.*

This was one of the first national organizations to enter the field. It was originally chartered in 1885 as a national society which had for its purpose the establishment and development of state children's home societies for the placement and adoption of homeless children into suitable families.

3. *The Child Welfare League of America, 130 E. 22d Street, New York.*

The purpose of the League is to make the work of its member organizations more efficient. Each member remains financially and organically independent, but the League has established a central business office from which its service to its members radiates.

It aims to secure the following results:

(a) A better understanding of all child welfare problems.
(b) The formulation and improvement of standards and methods in the different forms of work with children.
(c) Making available for all of its members the results of successful efforts in any part of its field.
(d) Providing personnel for the study of conditions in any part of its field, as far as they relate to child welfare; and
(e) The development of intersociety and international service.

4. *The National Probation Association, 370 Seventh Avenue, New York.*

This organization was established for the purpose of extending and standardizing probation throughout the nation.

5. *The National Child Labor Committee, 105 E. 22d Street, New York.*

This Committee was particularly influential in the establishment of the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor in 1912, and in the enactment of two federal child labor laws, both of which, however, have been held unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court.

6. *The American Child Hygiene Association, 17th and F Streets, N. W., Washington, D. C.*

This Association makes studies of state and local needs as they relate to the health of mothers and children, especially during the prenatal and preschool period. It assists in the education of public opinion on these subjects through special health campaigns.

It holds vital and stimulating annual meetings in various parts of the country and publishes *Mother and Child*, which is the only special children's magazine in social work with a national clientele.

7. *Child Health Organization of America, 370 Seventh Avenue, New York.*
This organization aims to promote health education in the schools, because it believes that in that way it can reach children at the age where they may become intelligent agents for the safeguarding of their own health. "Its object is action rather than academic discussion."

8. *The National Federation of Day Nurseries, National Office: 289 Fourth Avenue, New York.*
This Federation was organized in 1898 for the purpose of bringing the various day nurseries in the country into a unified effort to improve the daily care of the children intrusted to them.

9. *The Big Brother Movement, Inc., National Headquarters, 200 Fifth Avenue, New York.*

10. *The Big Sisters, National Headquarters, 164 Lexington Avenue, New York.*
The general purposes of these two organizations coincide for the two sexes. They aim to organize and direct the efforts of individual men and women to befriend individual children that have been brought before a juvenile court because of some delinquency. On the basis of this friendly interest these boys and girls are helped to gain a better physical, mental, and moral development than if left friendless in their menacing environment.

11. *Boy Scouts of America, 200 Fifth Avenue, New York.*

12. *Girl Scouts, Inc., 189 Lexington Avenue, New York.*
These two organizations, each in its own way, seek to give the boy or girl a rounded-out, physical, mental, and moral development. They aim to reach the child before there has been any such breakdown as brings him to the agencies just previously mentioned. The outdoor activities associated with athletics, hiking, camping, gardening and nature lore are made to contribute to the teaching of the rules of health. In the case of boys, patriotism, courage and self-reliance are the qualities aimed at; in the case of girls, assistance in the home is one of the qualities dwelt upon. Both of these agencies have an important place in the preventive work of a community's child welfare program.

13. *Camp Fire Girls, 31 E. 17th Street, New York.*
The purposes of this organization are akin to those of the Girl Scouts, but this one "aims first to develop the home spirit, and to find the romance, beauty and adventure in everyday life. It meets the need in the adolescent girl for ritual and ceremony, and

develops the imagination and the creative by its symbolism and craft work. It makes homely tasks contribute to the joy of living."

14. *The Boys' Club Federation, 110 W. 40th Street, New York.*
This Federation has an affiliated membership of about 160 boys' clubs throughout the country. By means of educational printed matter, an employment exchange for workers with boys, a field service among the clubs, and boy-life surveys, the work among boys and particularly the "underprivileged" is promoted.
The National Child Health Council, Washington.

In this jungle of national child welfare agencies, the work of some of which has been briefly described, there are coming about certain affiliations and simplifications which are an earnest of better days. The one previously referred to and the most significant so far is the development of the National Child Health Council "to coördinate the activities relating to the health of the child from the beginning of the prenatal period through early adolescence." This Council consists of two representatives of the organizations that are members, which so far are:

1. American Child Hygiene Association.
2. Child Health Organization of America.
3. American Red Cross.
4. National Child Labor Committee.
5. National Organization for Public Health Nursing.
6. National Tuberculosis Association.

Mothers' Aid. Another phase of the modern child welfare movement which has assumed a large place in present-day study and social work is mothers' aid. At least forty-two of the forty-eight states have passed some sort of provision to coöperate with mothers in the care of their children. Miss Emeth Tuttle, in her special bulletin on mothers' aid, published by the North Carolina State Board of Charities and Public Welfare, says that "the mothers' aid laws are proof that citizens have realized that to break up a home of any sort is a delicate social-surgical operation, but to break up a home for poverty alone is a crime." The underlying principle of mothers' aid is found in the recognition that every child should have, so far as possible, normal home life, mother care, and family relationships. The provision of mothers' aid is intended to assist and coöperate with mothers of character and ability who have lost the husband and father of the family in various ways, and whose children are under fourteen years of age. This is opposed to the old principle that it is a Christian

duty to take children from the home and place them in some institution. Some states have spoken of this coöperative state aid as mothers' pensions. It is more accurate to think of it as coöperation and under no circumstances to consider it in the light of charity. It is encouraging to note that social work and government, in joint effort, have come to the same conclusion, namely, that the home and family constitute the basic necessity for the social nurture of children.

The Juvenile Court. Scarcely less revolutionary in its progress is the juvenile court and its new methods of treating child delinquents. The juvenile court, which is a special division of the superior court for hearing children's cases as distinguished from those of adults, is an outgrowth of the revolt against the old abominable method of throwing children, youth, and hardened criminals together as comrades in crime. The method of the juvenile court is informal and undertakes to give youth the advantage of advice, admonition, opportunity, and community and parental coöperation. The guilt of the child is not the important question, but rather the study of his personality, his social surroundings, and the possibilities of his future. In general, delinquent, neglected, and dependent children under sixteen years of age are the subjects for the juvenile court. Special cases are passed upon by special courts. A vast army of youth each year passes before the juvenile court including the truant, unruly, wayward, misdirected children who get beyond parental control. Children who are destitute or homeless or working in places where the law forbids them furnish a large quota. The treatment of the case involves the help of parents, kin folks and social agencies or detention homes, and no child must be confined in jail or other penal institution in which he may come in contact with mature criminals. The most common sentence is that of probation, under which the child remains in his ordinary environment subject to the watchful care and personal influence of the probation officer. The various community agencies and institutions may help greatly in this process.

Increasing Child Study. It is necessary only to look at the rapidly increasing publications on child care and child welfare to get a glimpse of the increased demand on the part of parents for knowledge concerning the mental, emotional, and physical

life of the child. The Bureau of Education, in the Department of the Interior, has just issued a revised reading course for parents, consisting of twenty good books designed especially to aid parents in their understanding of the problems of childhood and youth. The bureau has offered to award a certificate to any one completing the course of study according to requirements. The interest of parents in child study is further evinced by the formation of study groups. Miriam Ott Munson in *The Publishers' Weekly* for January 8, 1927, gives a list of eighteen books on child study which have been especially recommended to parents by the Child Study Association of America. She emphasizes the stimulus to child study which has come from such national organizations as the National Federation of Women's Clubs, the Parent-Teachers' Association, the Child Study Association of America, the American Association of University Women, the American Library Association, the National Education Association, as well as organizations connected with churches and the training and corrective departments of the various states. Furthermore, the Federation of Women's Clubs and the American Association of University Women are suggesting round table discussion and study groups which have already been organized in many of the larger cities.

Child Study and Education. Other important factors which should be studied in the whole field of child welfare involve special problems in child psychology, and various aspects of abnormal psychology, of mental hygiene, of social hygiene, and of school work. Such comprehensive study will include the various phases of physical growth, mental development, intelligence, vocational guidance and education, as well as physical and medical inspection in the school. Other important factors involve the training of children in habits, in skill, in facility of learning and discipline, in social and civic relationships, and in the wider matters of social direction. These studies lead into the larger fields of the development of personality in the adolescent youth and his preparation for taking his place in a difficult modern society. In the next chapter we shall examine some of the situations and problems in which the modern youth finds himself.

FOR FURTHER STUDY

For Information

1. Trace briefly the changing ideals in the respective relations of child and parent.
2. State Mrs. Spencer's nine conditions under which the child may secure full opportunity.
3. What were the minimum standards of the Washington conference on child welfare in 1919?
4. What have been the two opposed tendencies in methods of care of the dependent child?
5. How many children are there in the United States between the ages of one and five? Six and eleven?

For Stimulating Thought

6. How is the prevalence of child labor a survival of the old idea of the child as being the property of the parent?
7. Explain the opposition of the unlearned mother to the public health nurse.
8. How do you explain the new emphasis on the preschool age child?
9. Why has it taken society so long to recognize the waste incurred by child neglect?
10. What evidence is there to indicate that parents are increasingly demanding knowledge of child problems?

For Research and Creative Writing

11. Make a study of the extent of child labor of various sorts in a specific community or state.
12. Write the story of dependent children in a local area over a period of ten years.
13. Make a study of the evolution of the juvenile court in this country.
14. Make a study of separate state provisions for mothers' aid.
15. Make case studies of a dozen problem children.

For Practical Application

16. What are the county agencies devoted to child welfare?
17. Outline a community program for taking care of the physically handicapped child.

18. Outline a program for the distribution of mothers' aid adaptable to your community.
19. Outline a program looking toward the education of mothers in your community with regard to problems of childhood.
20. Make revisions of your state health programs which would tend to increase child health.

For Continuity of Effort

21. Make a study of national child welfare agencies with a view to their coöperating with local efforts.
22. Make a list of twenty selected books on child welfare which might be made available through library or other facilities for the use of parents.
23. What provisions are being made in your community for the feeble-minded, backward, or other mentally defective children?
24. What is child clinical service contributing to child welfare?
25. List your state, county, and community efforts in the promotion of child welfare.

For Effective Reading

26. For special study: Groves' *Wholesome Childhood*, Gesell's *The Pre-School Child*, Mangold's *Outlines of Child Study*, "Thwarted Childhood" in Dexter's *Social Adjustment*, Holt's *Care and Feeding of Children.*
27. For sampling or exhaustive reading: Allen, E. B., Baker, S. J., Brown, A. G., Burt, Cabot, E., Clark, B. W., Coy, Danielson, Dawson, Eaton, Eaves, Fuller, Gale, Gesell, Groves, Hall, G. S., Harrison, E., Holt, L. E., Horne, Johnson, B. J., Kirkpatrick, Mangold, Neimeyer, Norsworthy, O'Shea, Pierce, Steadman, Woodbury.

CHAPTER XVIII

YOUTH AND SOCIETY

The Child and the Youth. The modern child welfare movement, as well as the whole program of social study, social work, and social education, are the inevitable forerunners of the modern youth movement. From the study of the general principles and programs of child welfare and the place of youth in the modern family we have already been introduced to the background of youth's increasing participation in society and its restlessness in the new era. These general factors interpreted in the light of our studies of social change are ample to make clear the situation in which modern youth clamors for expression and recognition. For the growing child, with his newer development and newer opportunities, adolescence and youth constitute an immediate next step.

Adolescence and Youth. The key both to the genesis and understanding of the modern youth movement may be found in the study of adolescence. The late President G. Stanley Hall introduced a new era in education, psychology, and social work when he began the study of youth and adolescence in the first years of this century. Since that time in the new school programs, and in programs of social work and juvenile delinquency, larger movements on behalf of youth, including such special agencies as the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts, have been inaugurated and carried on with considerable success. The "bad" boy has often been a misunderstood boy. The "flapper" has become a symbol of flaming youth. The clearer understanding of adolescence and youth has brought teachers and pupils closer together and has interpreted fathers and mothers to sons and daughters. It is a very fortunate circumstance that the pioneers in education, in psychology, and in social work have laid good foundations for the practical adjustments of youth to modern society that are so urgent in this after-war era.

The Growing Boy. It is a far cry from our former attitude toward the youth, in which his discipline and regimen were planned

arbitrarily from the viewpoint of his elders, to the present-day recognition of the changing processes that go on in the body, spirit, and mind of the youth. The boy who grows from twelve to fifteen becomes a new person. It is not only that his whole body changes, but his mind and spirit, his enthusiasms and feelings, his restlessness and desire for solitude race now ahead, now struggling within him, to keep him for the most part in storm and stress. The boy is timid and retiring, he is bold and crude. He is interested in the whole world and in many beings. He is a child and a man, and yet neither. For the most part he is not understood and he imagines that he is misunderstood more than he is. He is religious and affectionate but wishes to appear otherwise. He is gentle and savage and at the same time he may be poised as it were, ready to take his direction for mature life toward study and achievement or toward idleness and inertia. The boy of to-day knows more than the aged folk of a previous generation. He has more information, more social contacts, more stimulation. It is not surprising, therefore, that in the midst of all these physical, mental, and spiritual changes of his own, when he is thrust into a rapidly changing age, his own attempt at personal adjustment may cause some disturbance.

The Growing Girl. The young woman, come to quick maturity, will appear to have changed more rapidly, to be more romantic, more restless, more difficult to understand even than the boy come to manhood. She, too, having grown rapidly from girlhood to womanhood, has become a different person in body and mind and spirit, often without the knowledge and sympathy of her elders. With all the dynamic conflict of her being she has an age-long tradition of suppression and limitation with which her brother does not have to struggle. She has to combat the old conventions in a new day. Matters of dress, of speech, of manners, of general conduct often appear to her as illogical and without foundation. Like her brother, she has acquired a vast amount of knowledge of new things and brings to bear upon new situations keen insight, satire, and often an irresistible, if illogical, argument. She resents the double standard in industry, in government, in the home, in morality, and protests against inequality of opportunity. Here again it is but natural that the modern young woman with all of her new knowledge and new life refuses to "stay put" in the

forms of previous generations. It is not surprising, therefore, if in her attempts toward adjustment she should cause disturbance in the social order.

Periods of Adjustment. Manifestly the first of the problems of youth is therefore one of adjustment between growth and adolescence, between youth and society, and between youth and elders. On the part of the older generation and the teacher it is necessary to understand more of the intellectual side of adolescence, to be sympathetic with the social phases, to recognize the importance and dangers of sexual maladjustment, to appreciate the religious and spiritual aspirations of youth, to understand and often to encourage whims and peculiar manifestations which may lie at the bottom of the æsthetic life. It is especially important that they know more about the dangers of abnormal development and the basis upon which adolescent delinquency may rest. There are other delicate problems in the adjustment between the sexes and in the freedom which modern youth vaunts since the restraint and authority in the home have been largely removed. There are, furthermore, the problems of adjustment between youth and the several institutions—the family, the church, morality, citizenship. From the viewpoint of youth there are the constantly recurring needs for better guidance, better education, better companionship, and after all, a well-rounded social nurture such as will bring full growth and maturity without too heavy penalties of experience.

Youth Underestimated. The common impression of modern youth that society has underestimated the strength, wisdom, foresight, and general power of youth has many facts to substantiate it. There are many classical illustrations of the unsuspected accomplishments of youth. There was, of course, the Master Teacher who at twelve years of age was instructing the learned men of the temple. There have been the master musicians whose genius in the earlier years might easily have been smothered. There have been the masters of literature, like Shakespeare, whose talents were in his youth all but completely ignored. A common note in the biographies of men and women who have achieved success is lament over the limitations and suffering which have come to them through the failure of others to appreciate them and through their lack of opportunity. Thousands of youths in the schools of the older days have suffered and lost out because of misunder-

standings. The timid youth dreaming dreams becomes the subject of satire for teacher and pupil alike until he is driven from the school. Formal religion and morality likewise have misunderstood the struggles of youth and have driven them in a direction opposite from that which both institutions and youth desired. This conflict between youth and institutions on the one hand, and between youth and age on the other is, after all, not a new thing. In all ages the elders have conscientiously felt that the youth of the generation was lowering standards and endangering the common good. "The old days," they said, "were not like these." And so they were not. But in many ways the youth of each generation is both the friend and progenitor of a better society.

The Youth of Other Days. Excerpts taken from writings of former days parallel the prevailing pessimism of elders toward youth. Archer Hulbert, writing in the December, 1926, *Atlantic Monthly*, quotes from various periodicals of the early nineteenth century: "And what of our youth! . . . The army of youthful criminals from the slums is augmented by children abandoned by the shiftless of the working classes, by families wrecked by living beyond their means, and by wayward unfortunates from reputable families (1830). . . . From these thousands of young desperados the chief mass of hardened criminals is recruited (1831). . . . At ——— University the few students who profess religion stand, as it were, alone; to attempt to stem the torrent of vice and immorality there would be considered a freakish innovation (1826). Karl de Schweinitz, in *The Family* for June, 1926, quotes from John Robinson, 1625: "And surely there is in all children (though not alike) a stubbornness and stoutness of mind arising from natural pride which must, in the first place, be broken and beaten down; that so the foundation of their education being made in humility and tractableness other virtues may in their time be built thereon." And again in 1827, Harriet Beecher Stowe wrote: "With most children there is an era . . . in which a struggle is made for the mastery, in which it is to be decided which is to rule, the child or those who are placed over him. At such a juncture, in order to determine the matter and firmly to establish authority, it will be necessary to establish vigorous measures, and to suppress the first rising of a rebellious and disobedient spirit by punishment, decisive and repeated, till submission on the part

of the child, and victory on that of the parent, are completely secured."

Primitive Youth. Youth as the transitional period from childhood to maturity assumed in primitive life a significance unsurpassed in the social life of the tribe. Instead of tabooing all reference to the approach of puberty, the primitive man openly recognized the approach and heralded it with song, dance, ritual, and ceremony. It was a social interest and social concern. At this time the young boys and in many cases the young girls were initiated into the tribal rites and ceremonies and youth became the preparation for the assumption of individual and tribal responsibilities. The boys could no longer as in childhood be associated with the women, but were turned over to the elders of the tribe, who put them through a course of rigorous and often extremely painful training as a test of each boy's bravery and endurance and as a means of impressing indelibly upon his mind his part and responsibility in the perpetuation of tribal welfare and tribal rites and customs. Likewise, the girl was often ushered into womanhood by elaborate and impressive ritual and ceremony symbolic of her entrance upon larger responsibilities. Thus youth, or the approach to manhood and womanhood, was emblematic of a rebirth, an awakening to new obligations and duties.

Youth the Symbol of Power. Not only in primitive times but in all periods youth has been a symbol of power. Athletics, general recreation, games, contests have been conceded to be the supreme realm of youth. The physical youth among the Greeks represented the superlative of form, endurance, and strength; and when on one occasion the aged Entellus, ex-champion, fretting at the defeat of a youthful champion, threw himself into the ring and fought with such vigor as to endanger the life of his antagonist, pious Æneas stopped the bout and recorded the episode as of phenomenal occurrence. The absence of any such incident in later times may serve to emphasize the power and strength of the youthful athlete. If one wishes to illustrate the power of modern youth, one needs but examine the leading figures in his younger days in football, baseball, rowing, swimming, boxing, and other forms of athletics and contrast their present and growing inefficiency as measured by increasing years. Or, measure the desires and activities of youth with those of older groups, or take note of the proverbial appraisal

of youth as being able to "stand anything." In war youth is the supreme symbol of group power. Quickly and easily mobilized, quickly and effectively trained, the great army of youth represent the irresistible power of spirit and body. If much of the world's great tragedy has been in the sacrifice of such power, war is none the less eloquent testimony of its existence. The history of frontiers and pioneering has been also the story of youth. Thus the youth movement, with its disturbing factors and its challenging demands that its powers be conserved and developed, lies at the bottom of much of social development and social progress.

Youth the Symbol of Growth and Progress. Youth is not only the symbol of strength and power but it is essentially the symbol of growth, evolution and progress. With reference to children, the beautiful sentence, "of such is the Kingdom" is representative of the whole phenomenon of human growth. The chief function of the child and of youth for the time being is to grow. To retard growth is to retard the essential laws of life. Because children and youths can grow, because they can learn, because they can utilize vast power and strength in the development of themselves and of their surroundings, they represent the supreme force of social progress and evolution. Youth with its venturesomeness and fearlessness plunges ahead, sometimes suffering, sometimes losing, but making possible new gains. Youth takes the place of age and the coming of each new generation with the passing of the old is typical of the great social and biological processes of evolution. Age must decrease while youth increases. The liberalism of youth makes possible new discoveries and new inventions, while the fearlessness of youth overcomes difficulties to which older generations might surrender. How, therefore, shall we conserve, develop, and guide this greatest of social forces into right channels? How shall we avoid dangers and pitfalls of abnormal development, of misdirected energies, of wasted power? How shall the modern youth movement be turned into its natural power and effectiveness?

Youth Speaks. In *The World Tomorrow* for January, 1927, were published the prize essays of the annual Youth Contest conducted by this periodical in which there were almost 500 contestants from nearly every state in the union and from Hawaii, England, France, Germany, Switzerland, Norway, and

India. Commenting upon the essays, the editors say: "The words that best reveal the state of mind of the winners are doubt, dissatisfaction, disgust, bewilderment, hunger, aspiration, determination, trust, hope. . . . Resentment and rebellion against rigid control by the older generation is voiced by several of the writers. Youth not only desires freedom to experiment in all realms of life, it is taking that freedom." Miss Betty Webb who received one of the first prizes sets forth four definite desires of the youth of to-day: "There are many of us who want *facts*"; "We want a *dream*, an *ideal*"; "We want to *act*"; and lastly is the hunger for "*courage* growing out of a new, vital philosophy of life; and help in developing and integrating our personalities so that we may live up to it." As E. Merrill Root, the winner of the other first prize, puts it: "First of all, we need in America a new spiritual climate. The idol-smashers, the sceptics, the deniers, the nihilists. . . . They are just now the most reactionary force in America." These quotations are representative of that part of modern youth which is most articulate in the formal expression of viewpoints.

The Youth Movement of Germany. The most concrete and most widely discussed example of the modern youth movement is that of Germany which is thus described by Charles Merz in *The Century:*

It was about fifteen years before the war, in 1900, that there appeared in Germany an organization called the Wandervögel—'Birds of Passage.' Like the scouts, it found its opportunity in the obvious need of a new generation for physical and mental exercise. The Wandervögel lacked the military features of the Boy Scout movement; it had no uniforms or drills or corporals. Nor did it place anything like the same emphasis on the ultimate achievement of 'good citizenship.' It was interested chiefly in fresh air and holidays—these two, plus a certain touch of mysticism. . . . Their excursions Saturdays and Sundays took them out into the country-side not for sham battles and encampments, but to romp without a rule-book and to explore the brooks and meadows. . . . They used to troop the country roads of Germany, the Wandervögel, boys and girls together; for these little clubs that sprang up all over Germany drew no line between youth of one sex and youth of another. . . . It was the war that transformed the rambling Wandervögel into the Jugend movement as it stands today. . . . A few months after the war's end, the radicals broke away from the conservatives and founded their own movement. . . . The old Wandervögel kept on going but

at this point in the story its importance dwindles. The trouble with it was its membership: it had grown too large for comfort. . . . For despite two decades of the Wandervögel, the whole Youth Movement may be said to have developed in the four short years since 1918. . . . I do not know how many Jugendbunds, or 'Youth Societies,' have blossomed out in Germany since the armistice. There are at least forty of them organized on a national basis and boasting members in every part of the country. Probably there are five hundred of them altogether if you score the ones whose influence is purely local.

Thus it will be seen that the backgrounds of the German youth movement are varied. Forces which have been instrumental in bringing about this phenomenal development have been the undue restraint imposed upon youth by the existing educational, social, and economic organization of society; the unquenchable thirst for freedom among the youth; their creative passion and their urge for self-expression; the dynamic will of youth to act in accordance with its own impulses; the rebellion against vice; the courage of youth in its willingness to face problems squarely and with unprejudiced minds open to reality; the desire for responsibility and confidence; the longing for a spiritual awakening over against the extreme intellectualism and materialism of the Germany out of which the Youth Movement arose. Its objectives have been spiritual, æsthetic, and social. The spiritual phase is typified by its members' insistence upon communion with nature, self-examination, and self-purification. The æsthetic finds expression in the revival of the old folk songs, dances, and music. Their social interest is seen in their open criticism of and rebellion against obscene motion pictures and literature, their enthusiasm in stamping out social vices, and their activity in the purification of all public performances. They have adopted their policy with the utmost sincerity and earnestness in the course of their awakening to a full realization of their power, their new responsibility, and their need for self-control and self-reliance. This present Jugend movement arising from the old prewar Wandervögel or "Birds of Passage" has spread over all Germany and has enlisted thousands of youths.

The American Movement. In America the youth movement is different but nevertheless of considerable importance. The story of our own leaders of youth is told in *The Survey* for January,

1923, under the title of *Neighbors* or *The Youth Movement Comes to America*. Mr. Allan Armstrong Hunter writing in *The Forum*, gives what he considers evidence of the trend toward a Youth Movement in America. One of these evidences is the general stirring among the rising generation which is so widespread and so potent as to resemble a definite movement. An increasing number of young men and women of various types have become interested in the social currents and great spiritual forces of the world. He says:

> While there have been a phenomenal number of significant youth conferences during the last few months, the most picturesque yet seen in America was that held in March at Bear Mountain, N. Y., where twenty-eight organizations for youth met together in an experiment of coöperation. There were I. W. W.'s and Christian Endeavors, representatives of the Young People's Socialist League and the Young People's League of the United Synagogues of America, members of one or two communities, and the Young Friends' Society. The ideals of militarism and race hatred were examined and measures seriously considered to combat child labor. The need was generally agreed upon of making legal the transmission of birth control information by physicians in slum districts where families are crushed between inadequate incomes and impossible housing conditions. . . . It is insisted by some that the American Youth Movement was born at this conference at Bear Mountain. Whether so or not, youth obviously is moving. Not along lines dictated by the wandering, singing groups in Germany, the young nationalists in India, or the renascent leaders in North China, but in accordance with impulses of their own. . . . Groups of young people are visiting in other countries; they come back less stagnant than they went. The conference method of comparing notes—young Nordics with Negroes, men with women, Jews with Christians, students with wage earners—is spreading like radio.

Youth in Conflict. Thus the spirit of the modern youth movement is, after all, an expression of youth in conflict. It is not merely conflict with elders and personal limitations. In the German movement, for instance, there was an artificial and insincere society challenging the youth to revolt. "Church and State endeavored to keep order by coercion and fear." "The man became absorbed in the official; age, rank, and title were everything; the young man signified nothing at all. The superior official servant was arrogant and overbearing, the younger cringing and

humble." The schools were hedged in by formal traditions, the bonds between teacher and pupil were those of tyrant and victim, girls were brought up unnaturally. There was, furthermore, as pointed out by Fräulein Zarnack, revolution against vice, against drinking and the vices of students as well as against luxurious living. Resolutions were drawn up to show that youth could lead a movement to be free from tradition and to conform to the clean and simple life. There was also revolt against the ugly, the expensive, and the crude. Mr. Bruno Lasker mentions "simplicity and beauty of dress, which is merely the symbol of a new revolt against ostentation and insincerity in ornament and against overrefinement of living; the love of nature; and the appreciation of the human form as nature's masterpiece; the revival of folk art. . . . With the Wandervögel originated a strong tendency toward what is simple, traditional and ingenuous in folk art, in poetry and song, dance, dress, interior decoration."

Youth and the Institutions. Thus it will be seen that a large part of the revolt of youth is closely related to many of the formal institutions. Indeed few, if any, of the institutions escape their critical approach. Revolt against the formalism and ritualism of religion has been expressed both positively in their conferences and resolutions and negatively by their neglect of the church. Revolt against certain industrial conditions and principles has been expressed in conferences, resolutions, and particularly in inquiries and efforts toward the formation of a social philosophy. Revolt against certain formal requirements of home and family has been expressed through conflict with parents, through greater freedom in custom and dress, and through more or less formal statements of principles. Revolt against authority and state has been expressed by means sufficient to justify the terms "radical" and "red." Similar revolts against wealth, morality and customs, literature and sex have brought the situation to the point where students, social workers, and educators find themselves challenged to put forth their utmost efforts toward a coöperative program for better social relationships.

Youth and Religion. The revolt of youth against religion has been best expressed in recent conferences of young people. At the 1925 Indianapolis Student Volunteer Convention perhaps a million undergraduate students of Canada and the United States were

represented. Mr. Allan Armstrong Hunter, in the same article from *The Forum*, writes that "there blazed out a fire of protest against the type of society that breeds war and race prejudice which was a shock to many older witnesses. More than five thousand young men and women from all over the country met together in discussion groups where they expressed their varied and sometimes conflicting points of view with astonishing candor. . . . What was started through this coming together of students at Indianapolis cannot be statistically measured, but one thing is sure. It was demonstrated that there are in this country a number of young people who are not entirely preoccupied with football victories, 'proms,' and fraternity issues." As reported in *The Inquiry* for November, 1926, a world-wide inquiry at the Helsingfors International Conference found the six main areas of conflict in the life situations of young men to be: home and relation to elders; sex and relation between the sexes; life work choice and business and industry; sports; participation in national affairs; racial and world relations. The challenge of youth here is to the church and religion, that they apply the principles of Christianity to the solution of these difficulties.

Youth and School. Scarcely less marked is the revolt of youth against formal curricula and methods in the school. We have already referred to the protest of the German youth against the stereotyped authority and formalism of the prewar German educational system. Much of the same spirit though less marked has come into the American school. The resulting conflict has brought about in the high school, a great many problems concerned with discipline and especially with sex instruction and sex relations. Other results, however, have been more consideration for the individual, a more democratic relationship between teacher and pupil, and better programs of vocational guidance and direction. Especially marked has been the restlessness of the college youth, men and women, in demanding curricula that would lead them out of the wall-inclosed college or university into the open areas of life. Youth is protesting against the traditional methods and curriculum of earlier days, and freely prophesies that if faculty and administration do not provide dynamic courses youth itself will set in motion agitations for revision to that end. Among their demands are functionalized courses relating to such matters as

marriage, the family, citizenship, science, religion, and the æsthetic phases of life, along with practical vocational instruction.

Youth and Industry. The revolt of youth in industry has centered largely around the whole problem of industrial injustice. A part of this revolt has been expressed through the groups of student volunteers and church members as an appeal for the Christian way of life. Much of it has arisen from study of social problems and from the general atmosphere for reform. Much of it is expressed in allegiance to special theories of economic and social reform such as socialism, industrial democracy, and various other plans for adjusting the inequality of the distribution of wealth. Much of this protest is of course uninformed and jejune. Most of it, however, is sincere, and in this field, as in all others, it may well be the basis for the discovery of new facts and new relationships. Professor Groves, in *The Drifting Home*, quotes the composite youth as saying:

> We are going to have less exploitation. We don't think much of the world you have. It has too much exploitation. You call it Christian. We don't think it is. Strong and fortunate people are unfair to weak ones. We do not know how we are going to solve all these problems, but we are going to have very much less exploitation than you have, and as a result we are going to have less separation. We are going to have one big democratic class. We do not hesitate to make love and marry outside our class. We do not hold to your scheme at all. We do not believe the things you teach. Our programme is freedom, buoyancy, less exploitation, and much less separation.

Youth and the Family. Perhaps modern youth causes more alarm among parents than among any other group. We have already referred to movements such as boys' and girls' clubs, father-son meetings, and the like, together with a great deal of modern literature, which are going far toward making parents and children understand each other. Nevertheless, the gulf still needs more bridging. Professor Groves, when he asks the question: "Youth, against what are you revolting?" seems to get the following answer:

> We are revolting against the control of our parents; we like our parents, are glad they happened to be who they were; they are no worse than others, rather better; but we are not going to be under their control

in the way they expect. We are decided as to that; we are not any longer the sort of child that used to be. We have settled this consciously and with great determination. Well, we don't accept home training. This does not mean that we dislike our homes or desire to trouble our parents. We had rather do what is expected of us, but in our everyday life we simply cannot conform to all of the restrictions put upon us. We don't need the protection that seemed necessary a generation ago. We can take care of ourselves, and we must meet our own problems in our own way. We cannot explain our situation because our parents and teachers are too rigid in their imagination to see our problems from our point of view. We cannot satisfy both our elders and ourselves, and naturally we prefer to please ourselves.

Youth and Reform. Modern youths continue their complaints. It is not only their parents but all older people against whom they protest. They are not in sympathy with traditions or customs. They do not have absolute confidence in the older people. They demand facts when facts cannot always be produced. They feel that school, church, home, government, and other institutions are too far away from life. They do not necessarily blame older people or institutions, but to refrain from blame does not satisfy their own aspirations. They do not like the rules of society, and they will therefore change them. They are critical of the wisdom of the past and are willing to suffer from experience if they may learn the truth. In order to obtain experience, thrill, adventure, excitement, they are willing to pay whatever price is necessary. In the midst of their revolt will youth stop long enough to gauge the direction of future society? Will youth recognize the value of ancient wisdom grafted on to modern learning? Will youth, at the same time that it clamors for science and knowledge, accept the scientific spirit and methods of approach to all modern questions? These and many other inquiries are of great importance.

Youth and the City. Miss Jane Addams' classic *The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets* years ago anticipated many of the problems of the modern city as they relate to childhood and youth. Since that time much progress has been made in programs of recreation, of guidance, of health, and of general association in the city areas. Nevertheless, the city is still the most sinister magnet for restless youth. Increasing population, increasing oc-

cupations, new opportunities for the thrill and excitement so much desired by youth, together with increasing conflict between youth and institutions, give a comprehensive background for the study of the whole movement. Here again are the issues of family, of industry, of religion, of general morality, of revolt against authority, and constant stimulation toward the achievement of the new. Studies, therefore, of separate population areas, commercialized vice, commercial recreation, as well as of constructive community programs, are imperative needs of the present situation. The new leisure time opportunities are particularly important to the youth of the city.

Youth and the Country. On the other hand, city youth is often pictured as having a great many advantages over the young people of the open country. The 1926 program of the American Country Life Association at Washington was devoted to farm youth. Among many other problems considered, the following questions were raised:

How can farm youth secure the same number of school days, quality of school facilities, and grade of teaching personnel that city youth enjoys? (Educational.)

Does farm youth have as good privileges for religious education as city youth? Why or why not? (Religious.)

What are the social handicaps of farm youth and how are they to be met? (Social.)

How can farm youth be shown that satisfactions in any vocation do not rest upon income alone? (Vocational.)

Does farm youth labor under physical handicaps? If so, what are they, and what can be done about them? (Physical, health.)

How much is the unrest of farm youth due to attitudes of parenthood? (Psychological.)

Has farm youth been confronted with the real facts concerning economics of the agricultural and industrial situation? What are the facts? (Economic.)

What readjustments are needed in local government which involve public service facilities? (Civic, local government.)

Are the higher institutions of learning giving adequate preparation for rural leadership? If not, what changes should be made? (Educational.)

What is the challenge to farm youth for a life service in rural affairs? Why has it not more generally been accepted in the past? What of the future?

Delinquent Youth. Many students of modern social problems have considered the youth movement largely in its negative aspects. Because the attention of the public has been called more often to the waywardness of youth a great part of the public and many students have supposed the revolt of modern youth to be synonymous with certain phases of delinquency. We have in this chapter emphasized the natural and constructive elements of the youth movement, but it is important also to note these points of danger and these undesirable manifestations of the youth movement. Perhaps the most complete statement of this phase of the problem is Judge Ben Lindsey's *The Revolt of Modern Youth*, in which he employs thirty-three chapters "to present a truthful picture of certain aspects of American social life, as they have consistently and continually revealed themselves to me in the juvenile and family court of Denver." Nevertheless, Judge Lindsey declares that the conditions which he portrays are not peculiar to Denver but that they hold true for every city and town in the United States. In this volume he discusses the underworld of thought and action, the various problems of flapperdom, the various ages of girlhood and boyhood, the problems of sex, of good taste, of culture and love, as well as many other problems of repression, censorship, and limitations of social leadership. Suffice it to say that Judge Lindsey finds in his cases and statistics startling revelations which must summon youth and society to a better understanding each of the other.

Youth and the Future. A comprehensive study of "Youth in Conflict" reveals much more than conflict among youth. There is conflict among elders, and there are conflicting opinions on all sides as to the situation in which modern youth finds itself. The revelations of the juvenile court and of thousands of communities all over the land in which young people have taken new liberties undoubtedly give rise to reasonable fears and apprehensions. Professor Groves asks his imaginary youth what he intends to do with the future of society. Youth replies that he expects to take good care of it, but that he expects to do some experimenting and study along with the new freedom. Youth has great confidence in himself and believes that the temporary dangers and sufferings brought about by the transition from the old to the new will but become a part of the strengthening processes in man's total evolu-

tion. There is, too, a general tendency on the part of the critics of youth and of his friends to look upon his new strength and his new critical attitudes as the forerunner of something good and strong and beautiful. And restless youth, it must be admitted, has the right to expect coöperation and sympathy from those older restless groups in industry, race, womanhood, and society in general.

FOR FURTHER STUDY

For Information

1. What proportion of the population of the United States may be classified as "youth"?
2. What are some of the difficult points of adjustment in the life of modern youth?
3. Show how youth has been the symbol of power.
4. What was the Youth Movement in Germany?
5. What are some of the evidences of a stirring of a youth movement in America?

For Stimulating Thought

6. What factors have contributed to the restlessness of youth in the modern era?
7. Is the anxiety of elders over the youth of to-day more justified than in former ages?
8. Is the present-day demand for freedom among youth encouraging or alarming?
9. What are some of the differences in the problems of the boy and of the girl?
10. In addition to evidence of the stirring of a youth movement at the Bear Mountain conference, what other factors were of social significance?

For Research and Creative Writing

11. Summarize G. Stanley Hall's study of the contributions of youthful geniuses as found in *Adolescence*.
12. Study cases of conflict between youth and parents with the view of discovering contributory factors.
13. Write the story of a "youth astray."
14. Review the activities of the Boy Scouts and other youth organizations in flood emergencies and other disaster relief work.

15. Allport says that "the youth steps with seven league boots over the entire history of mankind, and arrives at maturity a socialized twentieth-century man." Show concretely how the complexity of society demands greater "strides" of the youth to-day than of the youth of a century ago.

For Practical Application

16. Show how the school curriculum and activities may be revised to meet more adequately the needs of the growing boy and girl.
17. Outline a program for the church designed to recognize and direct the activities of youth.
18. Show how the home may better recognize the changing ideals of youth.
19. Outline programs for direction and guidance of the activities of the city youth.
20. Plan a program of leisure-time activities for the country youth.

For Continuity of Effort

21. Describe the efforts of the American Country Life Association in behalf of rural youth.
22. What are the schools in the community contributing in the way of extracurricular activities, recreation, dramatic clubs, etc., to engage the interest of the restless youth?
23. What is there in your community in the way of library facilities for taking care of part of the leisure time of the youth?
24. What recreational facilities and programs are sponsored in your community for youths?
25. What is being done to train leaders of youth in church, community, or school?

For Effective Reading

26. For special study: Jane Addams' *The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets*, Van Waters' *Youth in Conflict*, Lindsey's *The Revolt of Modern Youth*, "Youth Speaks" in Groves' *The Drifting Home*, Eddy's *Youth and World Problems*.

27. For sampling or exhaustive reading: Addams, Eddy, Hamilton, Healy, Holmes, E. G. A., Hunter, A. A., Lindsey, Mains, Moore, H. H., Reisner, C. F., Richmond, W., Stauffer, Van Waters, Wells, G. R., Wile, Wise, Yeomans.

CHAPTER XIX

WOMAN AND SOCIETY

Woman and the Institutions. From the previous chapters in which we have studied the family, family relationships, problems of child welfare, and youth, we have noted many phases of life in which woman's position has been constantly changing. These changes have had to do not only with her position in society but with her individual development as well. So important, however, are they that further consideration must be devoted to the subject in its own right. In Chapter II we listed as one of a half-dozen of the most important worldwide social problems that of the readjustment of life and labor between men and women. If it were true that "woman's place is in the home" only, and on the same terms as have been prescribed in the past, it would not be necessary to continue the study of this problem in a separate chapter. But woman's place in all the other institutions and in social life in general has so changed as to make necessary many adjustments throughout society. In the family, in religion, in education, in politics, in industry, in the community at large, in the newer emphasis upon the individual and leadership, woman's place has not only changed greatly but has already altered numerous situations. In many respects man's attitude toward woman has not changed in proportion as she has advanced, thus leaving another serious "lag" in social relationships.

Man's Attitude Toward Woman. In our introductory chapters we emphasized the fact that in the common attitudes toward social problems and their study will be found one of our first fields of interest. Similarly it may be well to begin this study of woman's part in modern society in somewhat the same way. Although, as has often been pointed out, the most earnest efforts and the most eloquent pleas for the newer freedom of women have been made by men, it is still true that the great majority of men have inherited through many generations an adamant and stubborn attitude toward woman and her place. These attitudes

are varied and range all the way from misunderstanding of women through lack of education, loyalty to the "old times," and stubborn individualism, to various irrational manifestations of the superiority complex. But whatever forms the misunderstandings and the differences of opinion between men and women may take, they are complicated and represent the social heritage of the ages. Unjust discriminations such as have been called "crimes against nature and civilization" are after all the joint results of social and biological processes and factors. They cannot, therefore, be dismissed lightly either in study and discussion or in actual social relationships.

The Heritage of Woman's Disability. Mr. John Macy, in *Harper's* for November, 1926, enumerates more than twenty-five specific disabilities of the past which he believes are now on the way to be removed. Among these are the double standard of morals as affecting divorce; the right of the man to collect his wife's wages from her employer; the control of the public schools by men; the discrimination against women in higher education and the learned professions and arts; the subservience of women to clerical authority; the literal application of the vow of obedience to the husband; the indignity and belittlement of the single woman; marriage as the only means of livelihood for the woman without property; the uncritical acceptance of the superior wisdom of man; the taboo upon wholesome exercises and athletics as "unladylike"; the premium placed upon frivolity and weakness; prescribed ignorance; the taken-for-granted position of the woman as a household servant; the unquestioned right of the man to indulge in physical abuse of woman; the ruthless outlawing and persecution of the unmarried mother; complete misunderstanding of the nervous system and emotional life of women; the assumption that the sexual relation was primarily intended for the gratification of men; the wearing out of a woman's body before the fullest possible development of her intellectual life.

Institutional Inequalities. In later paragraphs we shall note something of the general consensus of opinion on differences between men and women. Whatever these differences may be, their bearing is of great importance in the social relationships between men and women and in woman's part in society. In general, woman has been considered an important factor in the stabil-

ity of institutions. She has been particularly subject to "authority." In the family, in the church, in government and in special matters of man's dominance, she has been counted upon to stand by the old order. Some of the inconsistencies in these relationships will be pointed out later. The story of chivalry, the attitude of the South in the older days, extreme attitudes and examples of injustice may be cited as diverse though true backgrounds for the study of the modern situation. Looking at the problem from the viewpoint of the past, man finds himself face to face with a difficult situation, when he fronts the fact that woman is becoming the insurgent, the liberal, the progressive. To what extent this is true may be seen from an examination of the newer attitudes and activities of women in the several institutions.

Woman and Education. The higher education of women has commonly been referred to as one of the factors involved in fewer or later marriages. Certainly the education of women in the present era constitutes one of the greatest revolutions of modern society. Between the older beliefs, put rigidly into practice, that the higher education of women was entirely unnecessary, and the modern demands, also embodied to some extent in custom and practice, that woman must have in all respects complete equality of educational facilities, there lies a great epoch of progress. Nevertheless, there are still many problems to be worked out with reference to the education of women; and the presidents and boards of trustees of women's colleges are constantly being taxed to their utmost to find the proper curriculum. They must steer a tortuous course between the old traditions of womanhood and extreme demands on the part of the newer women for the *same* education as men rather than for equal opportunities with them. In the new curriculum there are, however, many hopeful signs that both men and women are coming to a wholesome understanding of the true needs. Certain recent attitudes of women that colleges should not offer courses of a domestic nature, lest they appear to be forcing women to stay only in the home, have given place to a larger recognition that education and culture must include all such courses as well as the more formal disciplines of science, language, and literature. Woman, too, has entered the fields of educational counsel and leadership and may be counted upon to make her strong contribution to the new adjustments.

College Women and the Family. A certain amount of alarm on the part of some students of social problems has been caused by the apparent influence of college education upon marriage. If, for instance, out of approximately a thousand graduates of one of the leading colleges for women only 53 per cent were married after three or four decades, is such college education good for the race? A good many studies have been made of the graduates of women's colleges and forthwith many alarms are sounded. There are, of course, many fallacies in the use of such statistics. In the first place, the graduates of such colleges comprise a very small proportion of all women. Again, these are the first stages of higher education for women, and time must be allowed for the adjustment of women to the newer education, to the newer opportunities in industry, and to men themselves. Another fallacy lies in the assumption that it is more important for all women to become mothers of children and to increase the numbers of the race than it is for some women to contribute to the higher quality of the race both in creative effort and by their children. There are many other difficulties involved in the education of women. Whereas the man must needs be educated for one vocation, there is always the probability at least that woman must be educated for two. That is, whether she marries or not, there is the probability that she will enter some gainful occupation. If she does marry, there is the profession of home making and parenthood, which has not yet been abolished even among our most extreme modern conveniences.

Woman in Industry. Equally startling is the progress which woman has made in the general field of industry, although many inequalities yet exist and many readjustments need to be made. Baker-Crothers and Hudnut have stated the case well:

> The fact that the majority of women marry and retire from active business, professional, or industrial life has been a strong influence in determining their position in the outside world. It explains in part the subordinate place occupied by most women workers and the greater interest shown in the training and promotion of men workers. It is often used as an argument to support sex discriminations and to account for abridged opportunities and lower wages. Yet while the majority of women relinquish outside work for home work, there are a minority who spend their lives in earning a living. For some years from one-fifth

to one-fourth of the population gainfully employed have been women. They work outside the home, sometimes from necessity, sometimes from choice. Did figures exist showing the number of women who are actually workers and the proportion they form of the total body of workers, the one-fifth to one-fourth might reasonably be expected to reach approximately one-half.

The Extent of Woman's Work. The story of woman's work constitutes one of the most interesting, complicated and at times romantic movements of modern society. It was an old truism that man's work was "from sun to sun" but that woman's work was "never done." How, then, could woman, burdened with this heritage of unequal labor plunge headlong into scores of new occupations and new types of work? The manner in which woman, beginning with the household duties, first added agricultural work, and then reached out into labor that had to do with food, cloth, tobacco, printing, textiles, is a special field of study in itself. Here is the story of her aptitude for painstaking work, her availability at low prices, her need to help support herself and family. Thus certain industries came to be thought of as women's industries. Then came new industries, newer needs, beginnings of professional work, the great opportunities of teaching, social work, and the war, which ushered in a still more recent era.

The World War and Woman's Work. Just as the World War gave rise through necessity to various innovations in industry, in invention, in community organization, so it gave woman the opportunity which she had been wanting to try out her skill and training in many new fields, some of which were more congenial and better paid than the old. Prejudices and traditions were broken down in fields of banking, of business, and woman entered into many industries which ordinarily had employed no women before. Baker-Crothers and Hudnut point out that from 1914 to 1919 the proportion of women in the so-called women's industries had decreased from 75.2 per cent to 67.3 per cent, although the actual number of women at work had increased from a million and a half to two million. In all but thirteen of the eighty-five leading industries, both the number and proportion of women workers had increased and only in seven was there a decrease. And in the seventy-two industries in which the increases were made the proportionate number of men declined. Thus it is

natural that there later arose something of jealousy between the two groups, because in general it is conceded that the women made good in their new opportunities and they have been retained in large numbers. Other problems to be worked out are the place of women in the trade unions and the general equipment, experience and stability of women workers, as well as the ever-recurring issue of equal pay for equal work.

The Present Status of Women's Occupations. From the study of occupations in the Bulletin on Occupation of the Fourteenth Census of the United States a clear idea of the aggregate number of women workers may be secured. Thus the 1920 Census reports that out of 572 total occupations there were only thirty-five in which women were not employed. The following table shows one-fourth as many women as men in the nine main occupational groups:

Occupation	*Male*	*Female*
Agriculture, forestry, and animal husbandry	9,869,030	1,084,128
Extraction of minerals	1,087,359	2,864
Manufacturing and mechanical industries	10,888,183	1,930,341
Transportation	2,850,528	213,054
Trade	3,575,187	667,792
Public service (not elsewhere classified)	748,666	21,794
Professional service	1,127,391	1,016,498
Domestic and personal service	1,217,968	2,186,924
Clerical occupations	1,700,425	1,426,116
All occupations	33,064,737	8,549,511

Economic Discriminations. In spite of the rapid advance in opportunities for women and their successful work, the difficult question of equal pay for equal work has not yet been adjusted. In general the rate of pay for women is found to be appreciably lower in all the industries and in governmental and professional work. The usual reasons given for the discrimination against women are several. Up to the present, at least, women have had less training and less experience. Many of them, it is claimed, intend to work only so long as they are unmarried, and therefore do not look upon work or prepare for it as a life profession. The cost of apprenticeship and breaking in new workers is charged

up to this tendency of women to leave work after a time. Many affirm that therefore the question of equal pay for equal work is only a theoretical one. Other reasons given include the difference in physical strength and endurance, the attitude of employers towards women, the necessity for rest-rooms and other conveniences made necessary by woman's entrance into industry, and other factors which it is claimed involve expenditure of money. Still others claim that most women are not responsible breadwinners and therefore do not demand the same pay as heads of families. Careful study of the situation will show that none of these sweeping statements is true, but nevertheless each contains certain facts that need to be considered.

Larger Opportunities of the Future. The problem of woman in industry still constitutes one of the most difficult ones which now confronts society. In addition to long hours of work outside of the home there are still questions of home work, of physical health, of family worries, of temptations, hardships, and suffering. Mere laws will not solve the problem. Two or three avenues are open. One is the better adjustment of women to general industry, including recognition, pay, health, and social conditions. Another is the opportunity of woman in the professions, including government service, which will be discussed under the heading of woman's relation to government. There is still great prejudice in the industries and in the other professions against women and their work. Women law students are excluded from Harvard and Columbia and other law schools. On the other hand, there are increasing opportunities in professional fields, including various kinds of work in social and physical research, in the higher type of secretarial and managerial positions, and in the growing field of social work and public welfare. Other new opportunities, such as professional home keeping and home making may develop, and the experiment of woman's maintaining both home and participation in cultural and industrial efforts, even as men do, is likely to bring interesting and valuable results. An excellent summary of the present situation is found in Baker-Crothers and Hudnut's statement:

> Women form an integral part of the industrial and professional life of the nation. They have always worked but only in recent years have many

of the avenues to a variety of occupations been open to them. To-day they still have not secured equal opportunities with men. Because of the sex line, they have been unable to prove their ability. No comparison can be justly made between the sexes while they receive a different education, are given a different set of ideals, and one encounters artificial limitations never experienced by the other. Men have made their progress through coöperation and solidarity. Women are only starting to learn the meaning of these words. Experience has shown that when one race benefits at the expense of the other, yet cannot exterminate its weaker brother, it is constantly retarded and held back. If this is true of race, is it not still truer of sex? Woman is the mother of the race. Her strength is its strength, her liberty its liberty, her progress the progress of humanity. Can either sex advance to its fullest development unless each is allowed the same opportunity, neither sacrificed to the other?

Woman in the Home. As was seen in the previous chapter most discussions of woman's independence tend to return to the question of woman's place in the home. Sooner or later the question of economic independence, of political equality, of educational equipment, and the various other movements for equal rights as expressed by the feminist agitation, affect the question of the home and the family. We may refer again to *Problems of Citizenship* for a general summary of the viewpoints of three modern groups who are concerned with working out this new adjustment. All of these are presumably liberal and have nothing to do with the narrower remnants of the older attitudes. The first group would advocate more equality and wider development of woman's personality and opportunity, but hold that the woman who marries should devote herself primarily to home, children, husband, family, as constituting in themselves a complete career. They would hold that no profession or career in itself can combine all the satisfactions of life, but that work in and for the home and family may come closer to this ideal than others she might choose. They hold that household labor is as honorable and noble as any other, and that it is lighter work than most outside employment. They hold that it is suited to woman's temperament and to her experience and mentality. They hold that having chosen this career, the woman should remain in the home and in general should be dependent upon the man as the wage earner and manager. The second group would expect the married woman to remain at home,

but would have the family income equally divided between man and woman and thus recognize the high character of the work performed and of the profession involved. They would go further and suggest that since society owes the woman something as the mother of the race, the government should provide for the payment of certain salaries or stipends to mothers varying in accordance with the number of children in the home and other considerations. To effect each of these changes there might be need for legislation, but this, they point out, is not different from other situations.

Woman as an Individual. The third group holds that woman should be considered in the light of her individuality rather than her sex; that ability rather than particular duties should give her standing in society. Sex should not constitute discriminations against either man or woman. If woman is to maintain the home and family, so should man. Indeed, there are those who maintain that perhaps man owes to the family a greater share of work in the home because of his lesser physiological contribution to the rearing of children. Many practical means would be suggested for such a division of labor. The average woman, no more than the average man, they point out, is not a dietitian and is not trained for many of the duties of motherhood. They would, therefore, work out coöperative plans for taking care of the children, for household duties, and center the affection and care of the parent upon the children in the evening and at night. They point out the rapid advance in prekindergarten schools, kindergartens, and school lunches, while they look further to the possibilities of coöperative institutions. All of these suggestions and many others which are being made constitute, however, the basis for most ardent study and experimentation and for broad-minded and sympathetic attitudes on the part of both men and women.

Woman and Government. Of course the most concrete and measurable evidence of woman's independence may be found in the enactment in the United States of the 19th Amendment giving woman the right of suffrage. Here at one stroke approximately half the adult population became enfranchised, and we have introduced into practical affairs of politics and government millions of new citizens. They in turn must work out their experience in somewhat the same blundering way as men have done. The story of woman's victory here is very similar to other stories

of her advance. There are, however, still a great many difficult situations and problems which are due to woman's entrance into politics. An important question arises as to whether there should be a woman's party, or whether here again women should be considered as individuals and not as women. The National League of Women Voters has set up a very complete program and maintains in each state well organized units for the promotion of women's interests as well as for general reform in politics. Women are taking an increasingly large part in government not only by voting and officeholding, but through their federated clubs, their membership on committees, their civic interests and activities, and in many other ways. Nevertheless, they still have far to go and have not yet entered largely into the deeper study of government or the broader considerations of finance and political science.

Women in Governmental Positions. There are as yet many limitations put upon women in government positions, both in elective offices and in those belonging to the civil service. Five years after women have secured the suffrage very few of them have been elected to office. In part this comes about because women have not been prepared for these positions, because they have not been in the habit of seeking them, because they have not united on candidates, and in a large measure because of the prejudice of men and women against women in office. No women have been appointed to important federal positions except in the Children's Bureau or other agencies dealing with women and children. Such a result must not be taken as final and need not foredoom the permanent success of women in politics. There are many contributing influences. Because of her sex woman does not have an equal chance to succeed in governmental positions. Governmental machinery and offices are not yet adapted to her presence and methods of work. Many women still feel that they ought to have special consideration and that if they maintain the home and family public office should not expect too much of them. Many women in office who have failed in natural ways, and for good reasons, have been held up as permanent obstacles to the success of their sex. On the other hand, there have been many outstanding instances of success which point to a gradually increasing participation in this profession.

Woman and Civil Service. In general, the same discrimina-

tion which is meted out to women in industry is found in the minor governmental services. In recent years committees from the National Conference of Social Work and others have protested against what they believe to be unreasonable discriminations in the Civil Service and in the general practice at Washington. This discrimination is of several sorts. Examinations have been opened to men or women or to both in accordance with preferences expressed by the federal departments, and of the higher paid positions only 37.7 per cent were open to both men and women. While there were only seven instances in which clerical examinations were not open to women, they were excluded in over 64 per cent of the scientific and professional positions. Women were also paid less throughout the whole scale than men. It is more difficult for them to be promoted to responsible positions, and to share the merit system of promotion. Here again the problem is one for much more careful study and experience.

Women and Religion. In modern times women have maintained the burden and support of the church. They have been enthusiastic and active workers. They have appeared more religious than men. They have constituted a larger membership, and it is upon them that the support, practical ministry, and the hope of the church have rested. And yet ever since primitive times, and especially in certain eastern countries, and in most Protestant churches to the present day, women are denied many of the activities of the church. Denominational groups are still split into factions because of the difference of opinion as to whether women should obey the Pauline doctrine of the Scriptures and be subject to man. They have been denied the ministry in Protestant churches and are debarred from Catholic priesthood. The church shows many anomalies and paradoxes in this respect. In many individual instances it stands squarely in the path of modern woman. The agitation of many churches during the earlier days of bobbed hair now seems, in the fuller light of fact, peculiarly anti-Christian. The rules requiring women to wear hats and forbidding men to remain covered in church are technical examples of the recognition of fundamental differences between the sexes in church custom. For the most part, however, there has been no effective organized effort by women to point out the inconsistency of these artificial rulings.

Woman in the Community. One of the most interesting phases applied to woman's newer work is that she has become the community housekeeper and housecleaner. While this designation may not be a happy one, it does bring to mind the tremendous influence which women have had in the recent development of community work and citizenship. Through their organized clubs they have performed vitally important tasks of study and work. They have created enthusiasm and interest and have stimulated private citizens and public officials to action. They have built their clubhouses and directed many phases of community activity and culture. In health, in public welfare, in civic interests, in religious affairs, in schools, women have become dominant in the higher things of community. The National Federation of Women's Clubs enrolls more than 2,000,000 women in the forty-eight State Federations, the distribution of which may be seen from the following table:

States	*Clubs*	*Numbers*
Alabama	34	502
Alaska	4	110
Arizona	68	3,700
Arkansas	50	1,837
California	235	43,862
Colorado	204	9,610
Connecticut	80	8,000
Delaware	15	2,211
District of Columbia	2	402
Florida	208	14,200
Georgia	354	12,300
Idaho	23	1,428
Illinois	190	34,496
Indiana	97	6,409
Iowa	976	50,000
Kansas	51	3,225
Kentucky	189	20,000
Louisiana	14	3,838
Maine	15	361
Maryland	34	2,000
Massachusetts	161	39,825
Michigan	440	55,000
Minnesota	186	7,380

States	*Clubs*	*Numbers*
Mississippi	183	5,191
Missouri	124	7,336
Montana	125	5,097
Nebraska	90	8,246
Nevada	5	328
New Hampshire	16	2,311
New Jersey	25	5,785
New Mexico	20	1,613
New York	73	23,508
North Carolina	8	926
North Dakota	57	1,303
Ohio	166	16,291
Oklahoma	266	11,000
Oregon	20	1,230
Pennsylvania	72	14,557
Rhode Island	16	1,995
South Carolina	2	60
South Dakota	36	1,662
Tennessee	23	3,687
Texas	117	4,943
Utah	19	1,048
Vermont	13	2,502
Virginia	18	2,022
Washington	18	924
West Virginia	102	7,628
Wisconsin	114	9,228
Wyoming	16	775

Differences Between Men and Women. Although the feminist movement demands that woman be considered as an individual and that sex differences be ignored, scientific consideration of the whole situation cannot of course ignore such patent facts as sex differences. In a consideration of them account must be taken not only of physical factors but of mental, temperamental, and pathological as well. It has been generally granted that the sexes differ fundamentally in stature, weight, physical and muscular strength, reproductive organs, and those secondary physical traits which are distinctly characteristic of the respective sexes. These observable and measurable differences have been used to a large extent as a basis for the further discussion of mental traits, and especially for the attempt to prove or disprove mental variability. From the

examination of school children and college men and women it has been found that there exists no appreciable difference in the general intelligence of the sexes. However, minor variations have consistently been found as regards specific capacities. For instance, girls are said to excel in languages, boys in history, chemistry, and physics, whereas the sexes rank the same in mathematics. Other criteria for determining minor sex differences have been accuracy, retentiveness, rapidity of movement, memory, color naming, cancellation tests, reaction time, ingenuity, and numerous other detailed capabilities.

Variability Between the Sexes. Most bitterly controverted has been the question of the relative variability of the sexes. Beginning with the greater variability of the male as regards anatomical features, the controversy has been extended to include mental capacities. Some, basing their conclusions upon mental testing of school children, deny that there is a greater variability in the male. Others, pointing not only to mental tests but to the world's achievements in literature, art, and invention, and also to the preponderance of males among the idiots, proclaim the male variability to be greater. The studies which have been made of genius confirm the position of the latter group. In the past the study of the world's genius has been for the most part absorbed in male genius. Women have been conspicuously neglected. Since adequate criteria for testing temperamental traits have not been devised, a large part of the conclusions concerning this phase of sex differences are speculative.

Temperamental Differences. Those distinctive traits which have been most commonly agreed upon by writers in the field are the greater emotionality, the keener intuition, and the more personal interest of the woman. How much of the difference in temperament is due to innate factors and how much to training and social attitudes has been a subject for much discussion. There has been a tendency among writers of recent years to emphasize childhood training and its effect upon subsequent interests of the sexes. Social attitudes surrounding the boy and girl even in their earliest years demand that the girl confine herself to playing with dolls and to other strictly feminine pastimes, whereas the boy is free to fight, run, climb trees, and to indulge in greater motor activity. The girl is more repressed and inhibited and tends to

become more emotional and introverted. The degree to which childhood training exerts an influence over the life of the individual has not been determined. Watson states that "until the two sexes are brought up side by side and under exactly the same conditions, no reliable conclusions in this division of the problem can be obtained." It seems to be true that women are more subject to neuroses and psychoses than are men. Especially does it seem that those nervous diseases resulting from extremely emotional causes are more prevalent among the women. Nervous diseases of the hysterical type are probably more characteristic of women, whereas those of the paralytic type prevail among men.

Woman of Yesterday and To-morrow. Perhaps more important than the inquiries concerning these differences between men and women are such as concern the amount of social differentiation which is likely to exist between men and women in the future, and the valuable contributions of woman to the intellectual and creative efforts of mankind. The question is often raised by students of society as to whether man has improved the quality of his intellect since the days of Plato and Aristotle. As respects woman, the question cannot be raised, since she has never been free to give expression to her intellectual, professional, or artistic efforts. If, however, society should come to a point in its development where the creative efforts of woman might be merged with those of man, might not wholly unsuspected achievements be made possible? In the meantime, students of this problem may profit by biographical studies which portray the personalities, lives, and works of modern women. In 1922 the *New York Times* and other periodicals undertook to determine who were the twelve greatest women in American life. The following were suggested: Geraldine Farrar, Edith Wharton, Carrie Chapman Catt, Molla Mallory, Alice Paul, Ida Tarbell, Jane Addams, Amy Lowell, Minnie Maddern Fiske, M. Carey Thomas, Mary Pickford, Agnes Repplier. What, then, were the contributions of these women? What were the difficulties which they encountered? To what extent were they hampered in having equal opportunity with men for the complete development of their intellects and personalities? What do their examples mean to the new generation? What other names stand out as prominently as these?

FOR FURTHER STUDY

For Information

1. Contrast discrimination against women in the past with the present.
2. Point out the influence of the World War on the occupational opportunities for women.
3. What are the usual reasons given for the discriminations against women in the matter of equal pay for equal work?
4. Give three modern viewpoints of women's place in the home according to Baker-Crothers and Hudnut.
5. State the modern scientific attitude toward differences between men and women.

For Stimulating Thought

6. Why are men to-day conservative toward the freedom of women?
7. What has been the influence of the church in denying woman a larger sphere?
8. Attempt to reconcile the "chivalry" of the southern man toward woman and at the same time his conservatism in granting opportunities.
9. Explain the paradox which denied women higher educational opportunities and yet relegated to her the early training of children.
10. What evidence is there to indicate that there will be larger opportunities for women in the future?

For Research and Creative Writing

11. Write the history of woman's struggle for equal educational opportunities.
12. Add to the list of distinguished women in this chapter ten others, giving supporting evidence.
13. Make a study of the economic and social status of unmarried women of over thirty years of age in the local community.
14. Make a study of the respective salaries of men and women in like occupations in the local city.

15. Make a study of the increase in college attendance by women since 1900.

For Practical Application

16. Outline, in contrast to the old formal curriculum, an educational program for women as preparation for her probable twofold vocation.
17. Work out plans for more satisfactory occupational adjustment for the married woman.
18. Outline a course on marriage and the family for young women in college.
19. Show how nursery schools and kindergartens may prove more effective as an aid to the married woman in industry.
20. What percentage of the married women in the local community are engaged in gainful employment outside of the home?

For Continuity of Effort

21. What are the divisions of work of the Federation of Women's Clubs?
22. What organizations exist for enlisting the interests of women for political activity?
23. What civic improvements and cultural innovations have been instituted by women in the local community?
24. Make a list of the books studied or read in a given woman's book or reading club.
25. List the women of more than local reputation in your community.

For Effective Reading

26. For special study: Baker-Crothers and Hudnut's *Problems of Citizenship*, Chapters XII to XVII, Ellis' *Man and Woman*, Pruette's *Woman and Leisure*, Spencer's *Woman's Share in Social Culture*, Leuch's *Fields of Work for Women*.
27. For sampling or exhaustive reading: Bebel, Bonsfield, Davenport, Ellis, Havelock, Filene, Henry, Leuch, Pruette, Sanger, Spencer, A., Stephens, M.

CHAPTER XX

EDUCATION AND THE SOCIAL CURRICULUM

Education and Society. One of the social institutions upon which falls much of the responsibility for the readjustment of the home and family, and especially that part relating to child and youth, is the school. And education at large must be counted upon to assume its major portion of guidance for the newer relationships of the new generation. One of our first tasks, therefore, will be to ascertain the scope and purpose of the school as a social institution, its relation to the other institutions, and its larger meaning in directing the social processes of education. With the school in its professional aspects and technique this book is not concerned; but in the social objectives of education we find one of our chief interests. For, after all, education in its larger meanings comes nearer combining and coördinating the other great social forces than does any other single process.

The School as a Social Institution. What are the purposes of the school and education? In the words of a single definition, adapted to modern situations and social change, what is the school? Can we state an adequate concept of the school in such terms as will enable us to measure the success or failure of the modern school and the modern curriculum? In general, we may say that the school has two larger purposes, the one having to do with the transmission of knowledge and wisdom and the other having to do with individual and social guidance. In terms of society's best concepts, the school is that institution through which is transmitted to each generation the wisdom of the race and through which the individual and society receive guidance in continuous efforts for adjustment and progress. According to this concept knowledge alone does not constitute education. Nevertheless, it should be clear that adequate guidance of the individual and the race must be based upon knowledge and experience of the past and of the present. Whether or not this concept of the school and of education is adequate to the needs of the student of social problems may be tested by simple application to modern situations.

Measuring the School. The extent to which modern schools are different from schools of yesterday and the basis upon which new curricula are being formed will be found in the test as to whether the school meets the need of society at any given period. We have said that one requirement of the school is to transmit the knowledge, wisdom, and experience of the race. Manifestly, therefore, that school will not be adequate which transmits only such partial knowledge as ancient languages and literatures, or limited portions of science and modern literature, or any other selected and incomplete part of the knowledge and experience of the past. These are all fundamental elements of the race's heritage, but they are not all. It must be clear, therefore, that the social school must be an increasingly important and comprehensive institution in proportion as the knowledge and needs of society increase. Likewise it must be clear that in the modern complex civilization there is more and more need of individual guidance for the pupil and social guidance for the group. Here again this second phase of the school's function becomes increasingly important and comprehensive in proportion as society becomes more complex. What, then, are the social implications of the school?

The School and Other Institutions. In our attempts to define the school or the family or the church or the state it is important that our concepts of each of these institutions be stated in terms of exclusive function. That is, if it is the primary function of the school to transmit knowledge and give social guidance, manifestly this ought not to be the primary function of the church or the family or the state, each of which must have its primary function clearly defined and correlated. Nevertheless it is very important to understand each of the institutions in relation to the others. This is particularly true of the school because of its central guiding position and of its contact with the whole population. We are often able to measure the efficiency of the school in accordance with its success in strengthening the other institutions and in coördinating its work with theirs. That school, we say, is not a good school which does not, through its organization and curriculum, make for better homes and families, for better industry and work, for better citizenship and government, for better social morality and strong personality, and for better community. This is an excellent way of gauging the importance of the task which

we conceive it to be the function of the school to perform. And many a school can be measured and found wanting or successful by this simple test of its place in society. We may therefore approach the whole question of the modern social curriculum by indicating a few simple relationships of the school to other institutions.

The School and the Home. The new school, for instance, finds itself called upon to take over some of the original tasks of the home and family. Such tasks will vary in accordance with the types of community and with changing social and economic conditions. In some industrial centers, for instance, the school may provide not only lunches for children, but also kindergarten and nursery facilities which will take care of them while their mothers are at work. The school may provide medical and physical inspection of children, and by effective organization and good personnel do far more toward the prevention of disease and the promotion of health than the parents acting alone could do. The school may then go further and furnish clinics for the mother, for the preschool child, and for parents in general. The school may give information and instruction in home economics, in matters of diet and hygiene, and in the beautification of home and grounds. And, through its evening meetings, its recreation programs, its parent-teacher associations, and its other social activities, the school may provide some entertainment and pleasure for the parents as well as the children. In these ways and many others, such as through boys' and girls' clubs, and through school credit for home work, the school not only takes over much of the work originally done in the home but becomes a strong ally and friend of the whole family.

The School and the Community. The school, once again, becomes in its coördinating work with the family and other institutions a community agency and a community center. Thus not only as it relates to the home but throughout the community the school becomes the key institution. The modern plan of having the school plant used all the week and all the year is an effort not only to see that the people get the fullest value for their investment but to offer the school as a little community through which recreation, instruction, and inspiration may come hand in hand to old and young alike. The newer athletic programs,

parent-teacher associations, debating societies, mothers' clubs, father-and-son banquets, and many other similar features make it possible for the community to feel that it really does own the school as its best social servant. The tendency of the school to go back into the home and give education and coöperation to the older folks as well as the young, its efforts in general adult education and in teaching the unlettered to read and write, as well as its evening and continuation schools and its vocational guidance, all conspire to make the school a living institution serving the community. The school which does not so serve its community is no longer rated a good school.

The Visiting Teacher. A further plan for securing greater coöperation between school and community is the recent visiting teacher movement. This movement was instituted in the year 1906–1907 in New York, Boston, and Hartford, Connecticut. In 1919 the National Association of Visiting Teachers and Home and School Visitors was organized. According to Mr. Howard W. Nudd, in *The Purpose and Scope of Visiting Teacher Work*, there are at present 186 visiting teachers, including those on the staff of the National Committee on Visiting Teachers, in sixty-four cities and six counties throughout thirty-four states. The work of the visiting teacher is concerned with the adjustment of the difficulties of the unadjusted school child, and she thus becomes a point of contact between the school, the home, and the community; for to secure an adequate knowledge of the problems of the child her inquiry must include his home influences, his school difficulties and his community contacts. Children who require the services of the visiting teacher include, according to Mr. Nudd, those who "present problems of scholarship or conduct of a baffling, erratic, troublesome, or suspicious nature, or who show signs of apparent neglect or other difficulties which the regular staff of the school finds itself unable to understand or to deal with unaided."

The School and Citizenship. In the ways already enumerated and in its special training for good citizenship, the school becomes also a chief asset of the state and of government, from which in turn it has secured, in modern times, its major support. In addition to its general service to the community and citizenship, of which we have spoken, the modern school sometimes becomes the voting precinct. But perhaps its most distinctive contribution

to citizenship is its curriculum, which emphasizes more and more the social studies. Civics is no longer merely a course in civil government, but a course in social living. Instruction is no longer merely the mechanical learning of by-laws and constitutions and forms of government, but becomes an active observation of and participation in the forms and processes of local government and public welfare. And in times of war and stress the teachings of patriotism and emergency coöperation have been centered around the school program. In that part of the school curriculum devoted to citizenship the student will find a special field for further study.

The School and Religion. One of the most difficult situations in which the modern school finds itself is that relating to the teaching of religion. Since religion and morality have for ages been closely connected, it is but natural that many should expect the school, one of whose purposes is to guide its pupils into strength, character, and social morality, to give religious instruction. This is especially natural since formal schools originally grew out of the religious institutions and because in America, for instance, the churches were the pioneers in almost all forms of education. In an inquiry made recently of the superintendents of schools in all the large cities in the United States, each was asked to specify in the order of importance the greatest needs and most difficult problems of his school. Summarized and tabulated in order, it was found that their replies emphasized most of all the importance of character and moral education. Here, then, was a sort of emergency task thrust upon the schools from the church because of the complexity and swiftness of modern life. Is this not, many inquire, a matter of religion? On the other hand, a fundamental principle of American government is the separation of state and church. The public school, supported by the state, cannot therefore teach religion without great danger. Added to this is the confusion caused by the numerous denominations and sects in this country and the well-known difficulty of teaching religion without teaching personal beliefs and denominational doctrines. There are involved, also, the conflict of sects within the Protestant church and differences between the Protestant and Catholic. Here is danger of the school becoming, not a coördinating and harmonizing institution, but a divisive influence. This problem the schools are now working upon, and the student of

society will find in it an important opportunity for his best efforts.

The School and Industry. Toward no phase of modern life, however, has the school been called upon to redirect its curriculum more radically or to exert itself more practically than toward industry. The early beginnings were limited to simple training of the hand through minor vocational studies and manual training. Then followed a more serious attempt to equip the student for his work in life. From these efforts came new courses and new departments and particularly experiments in vocational guidance and vocational instruction. In this field the school has been especially effective in its continuation classes for people already at work, its part-time classes, its evening and extension teaching, and in its cooperation with farm and industrial agencies. Important alongside these phases of the school curriculum is the work in actual instruction in the social sciences through which information and interpretation concerning the place of industry in modern society have been given an important position. Thus, again, the school becomes one of the chief allies of modern industry, which in turn often recognizes the school through endowment and other forms of coöperation and support.

The School and Other Social Forces. The school, with its educative processes and programs, must not only be closely related to the major social institutions and to society at large but must also bring to bear effective efforts for the interpretation and control of all other social forces. To illustrate with the classification of social forces used in this volume, the school must needs interpret to the individual and help the individual to master the physical environment, inherited physical and social difficulties, adjustments between individuals and races, and the development of personality and leadership in the midst of a growing democracy. Of especial importance is the emphasis of the school upon individual differences, upon special aptitudes, and upon the development of personality. The attempt to adapt folk of various sorts to an equally various social environment is a new and difficult task which, however, the school welcomes into its enlarged program. The utilization of natural sciences for the interpretation and mastery of the physical environment is balanced by the newer emphasis on the social sciences to interpret and master the social environment. And, finally, the whole process and program

of education recognizes the newer task of interpreting human culture and education in terms of human growth and modern social progress. Here will be found a place in the curriculum not only for traditional culture but for direction of the new leisure time, which is of growing importance in the modern era. Here also will be opportunity for the direction of general social forces and social processes and for the determination of social values.

The Social Curriculum. From this preliminary view of the school in relation to society and its institutions the student of social problems is prepared to understand the basis and need of a social curriculum. In terms of our original concept of education, the curriculum must not only bring to the student knowledge in all fields of human experience but must so interpret it and use it as to guide the individual into his fullest development and the group into social efficiency. In this volume we have set forth growth and development as the chief objective of the individual, and progress in the sum total of human welfare as the chief objective of society. Professor Snedden, in his *Educational Sociology*, defines the objectives of education in terms of growth, play, and work. He also points out the importance of the fact that education comes not alone through the school but through other social institutions as well. The social curriculum, therefore, will include the organization and effective application of those courses of study and processes of education which tend to develop and guide the individual on the one hand and on the other to produce in society that permanence of social organization and institutions through which its objectives may be permanently secured. Let us, therefore, examine some of the major divisions of the social curriculum, looking first at the elementary and high schools and the general processes of education, and later at the specialized, professional, and higher educational institutions.

The Elementary School Subjects. The first approach to the socialized curriculum will be found in the ordinary school subjects. The three r's, together with elementary language and science under the modern school plan, not only are essentials in the later earning of a living and disciplines to the end of training the mind, but offer also opportunities for social interpretation. The school now has its social arithmetic in which it uses dynamic examples of accounting processes that have to do with communities, and

families, and farms, and industries. Literature and life are related in attractive forms of interpretation. The teaching of geography no longer resembles a puzzle contest that calls for the location of remote towns or promontories, but interprets the surface of the earth in relation to its human population. Even the ancient languages and literatures bring along with their disciplines, rich material in social interpretation. And the teaching of the English language and of modern foreign languages and literatures provides a wide field for the study of realism and of social custom and life. Professor Snedden classifies the school subjects in a score of divisions. These include the English language studies, the modern foreign languages and literatures, the ancient languages and literatures, English literature, mathematical studies, the natural science studies, geography, civic education through history and the social sciences, the mental sciences, the graphic and plastic arts, music, the practical arts, vocational guidance and education, with various agricultural, commercial, industrial, and home-making aspects and physical education.

Progressive Trends in Secondary Education. Indicative of present-day trends in secondary education and the chief interests of the high school principal are the remarks of Mr. B. P. Fowler, in *School and Society* for November 13, 1926. He finds that guidance, curriculum revision, and extracurricular activities have been more frequently listed in the programs of the National Association of Secondary Principals from 1917 to 1926 than any other problems which the principals of the country must face. Interest is becoming more and more centered on the pupil and on the means of adapting education to meet his needs. The increasing interest in curriculum revision has arisen, says Mr. Fowler, from a general dissatisfaction with the materials of instruction, due to the widespread study of the laws of learning; from the emphasis upon *living*, experience, and reëxperience; from need for the elimination of useless subject-matter, recognized by new knowledge of mental transfer in learning; and lastly, from cognizance of scientific progress, universal education, and new social customs. In addition to the revision in the curriculum itself has come the greater demand for the laboratory, dynamic, and applied method of instruction. The author summarizes the progressive trends in secondary education by asking the question: "How can the principles of scien-

tific education be applied to secondary education?" In answer to this question, he advances a fivefold program. This program comprises the application of the principles of educational psychology to curricula revision; introduction of laboratory method of instruction; the elimination of class recitations; the institution of more natural forms of learning and outlets for creative energy; and lastly, the enlistment of the interest and coöperation of the parent.

Science and Society. Alongside the newer emphasis upon the social sciences in the modern school curriculum has come also the expansion of the natural sciences as well. "Pure science," as it used to be called, through its remarkable discoveries and effective applications, has transformed the modern world. Through medicine, it has made life healthier and happier and has prolonged the stay of man upon the earth. Through engineering and allied techniques, it has transformed wildernesses into populous areas and has brought institutions and people together by the medium of good roads and other forms of communication. Through physics and chemistry, culture and comfort have been brought to the uttermost regions of human habitation. Biology has made its large civic and social contributions. Physiology has joined hands with medicine to take long steps ahead in the realm of public health and sanitation as well as of personal and social hygiene, geography and geology have attained new and living meanings to the world of science and education. In the various fields of human endeavor, in agriculture, in industry, in social planning, the sciences have paved the way for great human achievements. The school curriculum, therefore, must needs be especially strong in the natural sciences.

The Social Sciences. Already we have emphasized in many different connections the importance of the social sciences in the modern era. Here we need only affirm the importance of these studies in the school curriculum and in the newer education. From the first inquiries into the social basis of education through the contributions in method and content of sociology, history, economics, human geography, cultural anthropology, political science, social ethics, social psychology, jurisprudence, the social sciences must be depended upon to give direction to the ever-widening field and method of education. Of particular importance is the present tendency of modern educators to consider in the first place

human problems and human situations, with the bearing that the several social sciences may have upon them rather than to specialize in the several social sciences in order to see what they may contribute to society. Society is recognizing more and more that it is through the larger education that progress must be made. It becomes, therefore, an educational problem of special significance for each of the social sciences to enlarge its field and perfect its technique so that it may do its part in the study and promotion of human welfare.

"Civics" and Citizenship. The special student of education will wish to go much more into detail and inquire into methods and processes through which the sociological basis of the school subjects, particularly history, economics, and psychology is found. For the purpose of this volume, however, perhaps we need only call attention to some of the major opportunities of the social curriculum to link up the school and education with social life at large. In the field of citizenship alone, for instance, more than two hundred volumes have been published during the past ten years. In addition to the general titles such as "Social Civics," "Education for Democracy," "Modern Democracies," "Problems of Citizenship," and a large number dealing with the study of social problems, the list includes books on many special topics. Among them are "The Young Woman Citizen," "Human Relations," "Youth and World Problems," "Everyday Civics," "Social Life and Institutions," "The Spirit of the Leader," "The Social Gospel," "Community Life," "Christian Citizenship," "Better Americans," "Living and Working Together," "Americanization," "The Spirit of America," and many others.

Vocational Education and Guidance. We have interpreted the modern school as the chief social agency for guidance and direction of the individual in social development and adjustment. The social curriculum, therefore, will endeavor to fit the student for the important business of making a living; although, of course, the purpose of education is not limited to this one economic function. The major vocations of life are five: agricultural, industrial, commercial, domestic, and professional, the last of which constitutes a special topic for study. In each of these fields modern complex society has developed many needs and specialties, and also much technical preparation. One of the most marked con-

trasts between the modern curriculum, as it relates to the vocations, and the older curriculum will be found in a comparison of the primary and secondary occupations. Whereas in earlier frontier days the majority of occupations were primary, such as agriculture, hunting, fishing, lumbering, mining, with their simple processes, modern life has brought about a complex situation in which the Census reports 572 principal occupations. Of the 41,614,248 people employed in the nine main occupations, about 70 per cent are in the secondary pursuits. In manufacturing and mechanical industries alone there are 12,818,524. If to these transportation and trade be added, there will be found 7,306,561 more. In the clerical occupations alone there are more than 3,000,000 workers. The list of minor occupations is itself a liberal index to the broad field of modern work.

Education and the Professions. The social curriculum finds an unusually fruitful field in the development of modern professions. Although the total number of workers in the professions is only 2,143,889, they constitute the leaders of society and their training calls more and more for groundwork in the social sciences. In addition to the old major professions of law, medicine, teaching, ministry, there have developed many sorts of training which either partake of the nature of a profession or approximate it. The vocations of business, of social work, of city planning, and of work in the arts, the theater, literature, human relations, and many others, represent a new measure of human achievement. There are national associations of professional schools in law, commerce, social work, engineering, and we have already referred to the scores of professional standards set up for medicine, law, education, and many other fields of endeavor.

College and University Curriculum. The revision of the modern school curriculum and the changing conceptions of education are not limited to the lower grades and processes but extend all the way through college and university and into the field of adult education. What has been said of the social sciences applies especially to college and university. There is an increasing tendency on the part of makers of curricula in liberal arts colleges to recognize the growing demand for social subjects and interpretations. One of the chief evidences of this is the offering of what are often termed orientation courses. They may be called, specifically,

courses in social evolution, or citizenship, or how men live. Sometimes they are given jointly by several departments with lectures on economics, sociology, government, and certain of the natural sciences, all interpreted in terms of human relations. Sometimes, if faculty committees are not inclined to recognize the social implications of the curriculum, student bodies are moved to take the initial step themselves. The social curriculum is of special importance in women's colleges. Nor has the university proper escaped. In particular, the enlarging university programs for social research, for the effective coördination of social sciences, and for the humanization of the doctor's degrees may be listed as major movements. Equally important is the revolution brought about in university policies from the old closed wall concept of education to the enlarged ideal which conceives the scope of education to be as broad as life.

The Modern Graduate School. With ever-increasing emphasis upon broadening the field of knowledge, and with the dynamic spirit of educational training and direction, the graduate school has grown rapidly within the past twenty-five years. Though investigation in a particular field of inquiry is still stressed, the demand for breadth of scholarship, as Rockwell D. Hunt, in *School and Society* for January 9, 1926, says, "should not be held inimical to investigational ability in a narrow field, but may even prove to be the best preparation and background for intensive research." As the writer quotes President Faunce saying many years ago, "The scholar is a broad man sharpened to a point." The graduate school by fostering a spirit of searching inquiry, independent investigation, development of initiative, and mastery of achievement in a particular field, contributes toward the ideal of true scholarship. In a discussion of the aim of the graduate school, Charles W. Hargitt of Syracuse University states in *School and Society* for March 20, 1926: "The aim of the graduate school and its courses should be to promote, not the advanced courses alone, not the acquisition of mere knowledge, not even the desire for knowledge as an end in itself, but rather the development of desire for new knowledge; cultivation of the ability to discover that knowledge; and ambition to add even in a modest way to the sum total of the world's knowledge; in other words, the power to create knowledge."

Educational Associations and Foundations. Not only has there been within recent years a rapid advance in the demand for graduate schools, professional training and educational opportunities in general, but there has been an increasing number of educational associations and foundations have arisen to promote educational aims. There are foundations for the promotion of research, for foreign travel, for the encouragement and advancement of teaching, for the study of child welfare, of the crippled and blind, and for other charitable purposes. There are associations for the advancement of teaching, science, and scientific research, vocational guidance, university extension, various departmental work, greater coöperation among university professors and university men and women. To meet the need for information about these organizations of rapid growth and multifarious purposes, the United States Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, issued in 1926 a bulletin containing essential data and information concerning approximately 400 educational associations and foundations in the United States.

Scientific Progress in Education in the Last Fifty Years. Professor William H. Burnham of Clark University points out in *School and Society* for December 18, 1926, six characteristic trends of educational progress during the last fifty years. The first is the recognition that in the education of an individual action must go along with the acquisition of knowledge. "The great maxim of modern reform in education is the activity of the pupil instead of the didactics of the teacher." Another advance has come from the recognition of the maintenance of mental and physical health as a function of the school and the making of conditions favorable to mental and physical development an important objective of the educational system. A third emphasis is the recognition of the complexity of education defined as fitting the child for life. "Hence the need of individual study of children and of individual adjustment, and everywhere the need of an intelligent ignorance." Still another trend has been the development of the democratic ideal in education, which differs from the older democratic principles, based on the assumption of the equality of individuals, in that the modern ideal rests upon the consideration of individual differences. A fifth advance has come with the recognition of education as an end in itself and as worth-while for its own sake.

In a word, that education, mental health, a normal integrated personality, like happiness and righteousness, are ends in themselves, autotelic, that even without the great advantages that undoubtedly come to the educated man, education itself would be a supreme end. Lastly, is the recognition and application of scientific method in educational problems. Quantitative results acquired in regard to disease, physical and mental measurements, mental hygiene, child behavior and mental development represent the recognition of the significance of the profoundly significant for practical education; and still more important is the objective point of view and the scientific attitude acquired.

Can Education Humanize Civilization? Along with this progressive trend in education have appeared certain pitfalls into which our educational program has fallen. Certain of these deplorable consequences are set forth by Professor Giddings in *School and Society* and quoted in the November, 1926, Bulletin of the American Association of University Professors. The first is the deplorable lack of interest in and mastery of political knowledge. A second evil of the existing system is the overemphasis upon class recitations to the neglect of the conquest of knowledge for its own sake. Says Professor Giddings, "We are sacrificing ends to means. Class recitations, lectures, and so on, were devised as means; we have too often made them an end to which the whole academic creation moves. I firmly believe that cutting down recitation and lecture attendance would be the greatest reformation that could be achieved in American college and university procedure." Other deplorable conditions are found in the "insurrection against the truthful teaching of American history," and the bigotry which forbids "the teaching of unexpurgated biology." "The vital question here is not whether the doctrine of evolution is true but whether intelligent and truth-loving youth shall be permitted to look at the evidence which has convinced scientific men that existing species *have* sprung from lower forms of life. It is the question whether a great inquiry is closed, or shall fearlessly go on according to the scientific procedure of continuing scrutiny, re-examination and check-up."

Quantitative Changes in Education. Finally, the modern problems of the school and education are reflected not only in changes in the curricula and in the objectives of school work, but also in the phenomenal growth of the public school system and of colleges

and universities. In his little brochure, *A Graphic View of Our Schools*, Frank M. Phillips contrasts conditions between 1876 and 1926. He calls attention to the fact that education is the largest business in the country and that including pupils, students, teachers, boards of trustees, other paid employees of the school, those engaged in the manufacture of school books, apparatus, and supplies, and those engaged in the planning and construction of school plants, two persons out of every seven in the United States are engaged in the business of the schools. In 1876 the school population was fourteen million; to-day it is thirty million. It was estimated that nine million were enrolled in 1876, and twenty-six million in 1926. The average attendance fifty years ago was five million, while to-day it has increased to twenty-one million. Likewise, the increase in the cost of education has kept pace with the growth of population. In 1876 the expenditure for public schools per capita was $1.85, while in 1926 it was $16.25. This phenomenal growth of education has resulted in many important developments. *The American Educational Digest*, after asking the most prominent school folk in the United States "What are three of the most important aspects of American public school education?", compiled a summary of the answers under fifty classified headings. Our next chapter will discuss some of these newer aspects of the school and education in modern society.

FOR FURTHER STUDY

For Information

1. State the larger purposes of the modern school.
2. Define the school as a social institution.
3. From the discussion in the chapter on Social Change, trace the changing ideals of education.
4. What is meant by the "socialized curriculum"?
5. Name the social studies.

For Stimulating Thought

6. Have the social sciences yet played an important part in socializing the college curriculum?
7. Show how much more necessary it is to have vocational guidance and direction to-day than fifty years ago.
8. What should be the minimum qualifications of a visiting teacher?

9. How does the school to-day furnish more adequate outlets for the creative energy of the youth than formerly?
10. What is meant by the functional emphasis in the curriculum?

For Research and Creative Writing

11. Make case studies of failures which vocational guidance and direction might have saved.
12. Write the story of a pioneer country teacher of earlier days.
13. Compare in parallel columns the modern secondary school with one of a half-century ago; with the early "college."
14. Inquire into the status of the social sciences in American colleges.
15. Enumerate reasons for the distrust in which sociology is held in certain sections and colleges.

For Practical Application

16. Measure a given school according to the modern concept of its rôle in society.
17. Outline a plan for the coördination of the social studies in an "orientation" course.
18. Show how social research may result in greater service of a university to society.
19. List the activities which the school supports directly or indirectly outside of its primary function of the transmission of knowledge.
20. Plan a program for greater coördination of school and community interests.

For Continuity of Effort

21. What are the next steps to increase library facilities in the community school?
22. To what extent is the community looking ahead by purchasing adequate school grounds?
23. Are the educational leaders in your community also leaders in other community activities?
24. How much is your state spending annually per capita for education?
25. How does it compare with other states?

For Effective Reading

26. For special study: Bobbitt's *The Curriculum*, Jones' *Four Essentials of Education*, Dewey's *School and Society*, Trabue's *Educational Measurements*, Marks' *Which Way Parnassus?*
27. For sampling or exhaustive reading: Adams, John, Betts, Cherry, Dewey, Good, King, I., Martin, E. D., Monroe, Munroe, J. P., Peters, Proctor, Robbins, C. L., Russell, Bertrand, Snedden.

CHAPTER XXI

EDUCATION AND THE ADULT

Two Epochs in Education. After all, perhaps the most radical departure of the modern school and the curriculum will be found in the extension of education, not only to include a broad curriculum but to include all the people as well. This movement is not merely a manifestation of that phase of democracy which offers equal opportunity to all citizens alike, but is also evidence of the recognition that democratic government, if it is to function successfully, must be grounded upon education and its benefits. Thus the extension of education in the modern era has two major implications of great importance to democracy. The first of these is the epochal contribution of the concept of public education which, along with the industrial revolution, is generally rated as the greatest of modern social forces. This movement includes the larger processes of education as it applies to country schools and city schools, to the poor and to the well-to-do, to superior children and to backward children, and to diverse groups of various occupation, race, age, sex. The other larger implication of the new educational trend is found in the modern movement for extension education, the most important part of which has to do with the adult in society.

The Meaning of Education. Thus the meaning of education in the modern world assumes changing aspects. The original elementary school's purpose was to train its pupils in the elements of "readin', writin', and 'rithmetic." This has been expanded to teach children something of play, of the arts, and of the more interesting phases of the school subjects. The secondary schools also, in addition to training the pupils in such things as language, algebra, ancient history, physics, encourage various extracurricular activities such as dramatics, competitive athletics, community work. Also, the old idea of the school was that it should take up where the home left off. The new ideals, through various methods of kindergarten work and other features, now integrate

education with the home. In the *Research Bulletin* of the National Education Association for September, 1926, some contrasts between the public schools of forty years ago and of to-day are presented. The original purpose, as it points out, was "schooling"—the memorizing and acquisition of a rigid body of facts and relatively simple forms of skill. To-day the purpose is "education"—the modification of conduct in the direction of developing higher moral character, better health habits, civic efficiency, command of fundamental processes, worthy home membership, vocational efficiency, and wholesome use of leisure.

The Growing School. We have called attention in the previous chapter to the close relation of the school to other institutions. We have also emphasized the social curriculum. The modern school not only is called upon to change the nature of its curriculum to meet the needs of society but it must necessarily thereby enlarge its scope. Forty years ago the public school taught the following subjects: reading, spelling, penmanship, conduct, arithmetic, grammar, geography, United States history and Constitution, object lessons, drawing, music, and physical exercises. The same *Research Bulletin* lists the following subjects of the public school to-day: reading, spelling, penmanship, arithmetic, grammar, composition, literature, geography, United States history, Constitution of the United States, Declaration of Independence, state history and constitution, citizenship, morals and manners, health, physical education, nature study or elementary science, cooking, sewing, manual training or industrial arts, thrift, music, art, and safety-first. The administrative and financial requirements of the school are therefore more comprehensive and include the following items: Trained, capable, and conscientious teachers; a trained and understanding administrative and supervisory staff; a living and developing curriculum adapted to social and industrial needs; an adequate school plant; a school term of reasonable length with high regularity of attendance; a just and effective method of providing school support; an effective form of organization; an intelligent and supporting public.

The School and the People. The last essential mentioned in the previous paragraph as one of the fundamentals of a successful school was that of public support. We have called attention already to the epochal contribution of the whole concept of public

education as a fundamental part of democratic service to all the people. We come now to the important problem of maintaining not only a financial support but an enthusiastic indorsement by the people of the whole program of education. Here again modern change has been so rapid that many of the people are skeptical of the school's new program, and they find in it so much conflict between the old and the new that they pause in their support and become critical in their attitude. One of the chief social problems of the present day, therefore, is the interpretation of modern science and education to the adult population. Some method must be found of bridging the distance between modern social institutions and professional leadership on the one hand, and the great mass of common folk on the other. For, modern ideals, terminology, and technique of education, of government, of social organization, and even of business in our advancing civilization are now cast far beyond the present understanding of the people, who at the same time are charged with greater active participation and larger responsibility. This distance, we maintain, is due primarily not to differences in intelligence but to various other causes. If one distinguishes carefully between the selected common man and the mongrel mass, one finds much evidence to indicate that many of the folk reveal a greater power of social intelligence than many of the learned. The distance that separates institutions and technicians from the people is due, in addition to differences in education, in experience, in opportunity, to the power of tradition, to the blighting influence of the political and ecclesiastical demagogue, to the limitation of social technique, to inadequate social leadership, to the normal rise of specialisms, to the multiplication of knowledge and social tools, and to other differences incident to rapid social and economic change. Furthermore, the social scientist and professional technician have a knowledge of social conditions entirely inadequate to the opportunities and obligations of the present era. They therefore fall short of their capacity for social guidance and direction and seem unable to diagnose the present social situation. In addition to his inadequate equipment in knowledge and data of experience there is evidence to indicate that the technician is inclined to be dogmatic, denunciatory, narrowly personal, or that he will rush into action or advice prematurely, thus contributing much to misguidance as well as

something to guidance. There is, therefore, need most of all for a period of thorough descriptive research in many limited fields, which taken together will include the whole of social data. The world can very well afford to wait for results from such study.

New Knowledge, the Democratic Opportunity, Fear and Unrest. The school and society therefore find themselves faced with the peculiarly new task of discovering the people. What, conversely, is the problem and the situation with reference to the process of self-discovery and self-expression by the great numbers of so-called common folks everywhere? Is the present situation normal or abnormal, desirable or undesirable, the natural outcome of years of pointing toward democracy and education or a miscarriage of normal expectations? From the viewpoint of the greater society and democracy, and allowing for all the existing fear and uneasiness on the one part and social unrest on the other, the whole situation seems both natural and desirable. The people for the first time in the history of society are all, it might be said, in college and university. They have come into the range and acquisition of new knowledge and much of it. They have been begged and coerced into getting knowledge and using it, and have begun the stirrings of response. The college youth struggling with his convictions and new knowledge has come to be considered a normal and standard type of successful reaction to college education. We have praised him for his struggle to grow and to think, to react to the new and to find himself, approving this attitude as a most hopeful sign. What more natural than a similar reaction on the part of the whole people, who now have more knowledge and are perplexed with more questionings than the former college student ever experienced? What more logical and natural result of the great educational process could have been brought about? Why then surprise, pessimism, fear, unwillingness to meet the very situation for which we have waited? If it is true that knowledge has been only half carried to the people, and if many of our leaders have still less well digested conclusions than they, and if the educational and social order is not supplying enough well trained leaders to direct the millions of new folk-students, and finally if they have no alternative but to follow, for the present, the demagogue and misguided enthusiast, it must be clear that this is not the final fruit of democracy or education or social science but simply a

stage in their yet undeveloped technique. Could there be greater offense on the part of the social scientist than to make final judgments based on his present meager data and experience, or calculated from observation of pitifully few generations in the whole long cultural process?

Twenty-seven Million Conflicts. What data and experience are available from which conclusions concerning democracy, other social objectives and programs, or social progress may be drawn? A few years. A few conflicts. A few superficial and temporary experiments in government, education, social organization, revolution, carried out under practically none of the conditions requisite for scientific study, and with the social sciences not even having an initial try-out. Here is strange paradox: in one and the same period the social sciences are adjudged the first essential in the discovery and development of a greater society, while it is admitted that they have not as yet been effectively established, and their social objectives are pronounced unattainable. But, to come back to our immediate subject, here are some of the simpler forces at work upon the social population: 26,898,897 copies of forty leading periodicals, with their four or five readers apiece, broadcasting all sorts of knowledge, information, and advice; millions of readers of the other periodicals and papers; the 150,000 students taking correspondence and extension courses in universities and colleges; the 200,000 in evening schools; at least 3,000,000 folk from commercial correspondence schools and all others combined. Radio, movies, books by the thousand add their quota. There are the thousands of college men and women carrying the conflicting messages back home from college instructors not much better informed than they nor more definite in their conclusions. And there are the hosts of college and university teachers themselves trying to find and present the truth aright. To these come thousands of inquiries from the people. To a single smaller state university there came within the last college year 16,131 requests for information and service from every county in the state and ranging in nature from an appeal for profound conclusions to the simplest inquiries about matters of everyday life. Without the educational machinery to transmit adequate and accurate knowledge, without the experience of social extension and contacts, without—and this is all-important—having the way paved for knowl-

edge by appreciation of the value of truth and the spirit of science, and without the educational capacity to provide ample interpreters of knowledge and guidance for these new students, the present confusion is inevitable. Anything less than dynamic reaction on the part of a virile population would reflect upon the ideals of social evolution and progress. The present situation challenges us to provide social and educational technique not yet available.

Detrimental Conflicts. Perhaps the best illustration of the whole field of conflict between advanced education and the common man was found in the evolution trial at Dayton, Tennessee, in the summer of 1925. Here were brought into the open and sharply outlined issues typical of the modern conflict between schools and the people. What is the meaning to the social scientist, the educator, and the social worker of the echoing phrase "duel to the death" but recently hurled across the hills of Dayton from one group to another, who are far more distantly separated than is realized by most of those who study in the halls of learning, or work in professional fields? What is the meaning of the "fight to the finish" challenge still being repeated among certain organized groups? For these phases have a very definite meaning and challenge which can be ignored only with disastrous results. What I found at Dayton was more pathos than humor, more futility than fighting, more tragedy than comedy, more inexperience and ignorance, even on the part of visiting seekers after truth or sensation, than lack of intelligence. While mediocre leaders may be indulging in what President Glenn Frank calls an indecent scuffle, it is not so with great cross sections of the American people. Here, representing scores of American communities and millions of American folk, were earnestness, sincerity, simplicity, frankness, stubbornness, and the honest fruits of generations of nature and nurture. Years of institutional and physical environment have produced a ripe harvest now being gathered and marketed by self-centered leaders who feel that they have found perfect weather in this new incidence and mass response. What other results could have been possible?

More Searching Inquiry. Satire, ridicule and jest thrown back by critics into the Tennessee hills seem to me only to rebound to mock a great host of scientists and students of the environmental basis of society who are honestly surprised, discouraged and disgusted by the present situation. Bitterness and pessimism, on the

one hand, or mere cheerfulness and optimism, on the other, are superficial and unsatisfactory makeshifts for hard scientific inquiry, earnest efforts toward wise social policy, and a frank facing of the facts. Are the "progressive" leaders of society, then, no more far-seeing than the leaders of reaction? Are they, as has been claimed by many critics, men of less courage than those who lead the fanaticism of the day? Do the educators and the social scientists, however cultured and learned, manifest no more intelligence in their methods and technique, or is their thinking any less subjective and dormant, than that of the other group? In terms of diagnosis and cure, what is the meaning of this duel to the death in this day when peace is prized above war? What is the meaning of this resistance to science in the evening and morning of the first day when social science begins to find itself, and to see that it is good? What is the meaning of this new panic among leaders and believers in democracy on the eve of its first great test? Why a new proposed fatalism reaching all the way from *laissez-faire* satisfaction to the recent gains in social direction and telesis? Why bitter accusations and limited judgments unsupported by due effort in thinking and the necessary accompanying scientific inquiry and poise?

Possible Meanings. Suppose we pass over the usual meanings ascribed to the present situation. There are undoubtedly great principles involved in the current expressions of alarm and danger. There may very well be danger to science. There may be danger to religion and to social morality. There may be great danger to the churches and Christianity. Dangers there may be to standards of scholarship and higher education. The issue of freedom of speech and thought and of teaching may very well be involved. The whole question of the trend of the churches to dominate politics and government and thus violate great American principles is a most important one. What is to become of scientific research, of the social sciences, of the search after truth, if this sort of thing goes on, sanctioned by majorities, unstemmed by minorities? Where is the courage and unified action of the more highly educated groups? And there are many other meanings: unscrupulous use of demagogic methods by hundreds of leaders in the fray; the farcical mixing of law, the courts, and abstractions; the pitiful commercialization of the whole episode; and the sight of a myriad of intelligent folk, if not following, allowing themselves to be led by the mentally and

spiritually deficient. The pathetic and promised eagerness and provincialism of all America's reading public to find something satisfying, and the epochal farce being enacted may also be considered significant. These and other aspects may be of considerable importance and have had a great variety of treatment. They are a part of the total situation, from which other meanings may be sought. In this chapter, however, we wish to raise the question as to what this conflict means to the social scientist in terms of its magnitude and application, in view of a possible verdict that the situation is neither understood nor under control by those best prepared to lead, and as a unique opportunity for research.

The Size of It. Pounding away on varied types of interpretation and description of this controversy have been some 2,310 daily newspapers in this country, some 13,267 weeklies, about 3,613 monthlies, no less than 392 quarterlies, with perhaps another 500 including bimonthlies and semimonthlies, triweeklies and those of irregular issue. It profits little to deplore the overemphasis or the exaggerated reports and the sensational methods. The fact remains that the newspapers alone have printed, on a fair estimate made from actual counts of typical samples, words in the aggregate amounting to 3,000 volumes of 300 ordinary pages each. And this within a short period of time, concentrating their attention and energies upon a single subject. And the circulation of these papers has been enormous, reaching millions of folk who do not read books. Added to this have been scores of articles and editorials in the learned journals. I have found no periodical of any sort, devoted to agriculture or trade or what not, which has ignored the subject. Nor have I found a weekly or denominational paper which has not presented the matter in some form although of course the actual examination of these has been very limited. In going to and fro in the countryside and out-of-the-way places I have yet to find a single white person who is not willing to talk about the subject, who does not know something of it, or who does not have ready-made opinions. Some of the keenest comments I have heard have come from the natural wisdom of remote individuals. I need scarcely proceed with the other enumerations to show the appeal which the present situation must have, by its very magnitude, to all students of society and social progress. What about the 237,945 churches with their 219,876 ministers and a membership of

48,224,014? How many of these churches have left the matter alone? What of platform and chautauqua and everyday discussion and smoking car? What of the almost thousand universities and the 276,881 schools with enrollment approximating 25,000,000 students? As a matter of fact, however, these last have been perhaps the least in the discussion and presentation of the subject, leaving religious argumentation and kindred subjects to the billion worded newspapers and private conversation. To these agencies should be added the almost 800 books published last year on religious subjects and the increasing number for this year, exclusive of the scores of cheap pamphlets and circulars, with their dogmatism, vulgarity, and intolerance. Can any student of the times ignore such a quantitative situation, regardless of the respective merits of its conflicting parties? Whatever the type of educational propaganda put forth, whatever the status of those who read, here is a challenge to the student to open his eyes and see what is going on about him. To continue to hide from the truth may leave a verdict against him not creditable to his judgment or intelligence.

The Opposing Camps. There is another way to measure the size of the situation, and the astonishing features of it, which ought to be clear to any student who has made a business of keeping in touch with and checking up social situations. This is by examining the two opposing groups, each with its clear-cut and decisive unity. Mr. Bryan was correct in affirming that he could find in any state, and therefore in all states, a majority of the folk to be fundamentalists. Here are more than half the American people lined up on one side. Equally clear it is that the great majority of professional folk and of certain clearly defined groups of larger experience and education are firmly on the other side. Here, then, is the spectacle of colleges, universities, lawyers, many ministers, editors, literary men, publicists, and the great host of more experienced folk, whether intentionally or not plainly ranked, according to the crude terminology of the duelist, against the great mass of people whom they are to serve. If that situation is not tragic enough in one sense, and comic enough in another, to wake up the academic and cosmopolitan mind, then may we invoke the shades of Sumner, the militant scientific professor. If there are those who doubt the extent or intensity of these opposing attitudes, let them

take account of the millions of trustful folk whose minds have been filled with virus against inquiry and education or of those learned people whose everyday opinion of the common man is expressed only in terms of negative intelligence.

Distance versus Intelligence. The difference between the two groups is not intelligence, but vast, yawning distance—distance so great and abysmal that the remoteness of smoky range from fertile valley or of mountain crag from shores of sand appears a futile comparison. Such distance is not spanned by one group hoping in mental eagerness and anguish to see what lies upon and beyond the purple hills, nor by another group nearsighted with much study, learning, and experience, seeing nothing save a blurred expanse from its lofty viewpoint above the hills. One may ascertain the completeness with which these distances remain unspanned by a study of the misstatements, demagogic appeals, and unfair methods used by Mr. Bryan and many others in their effort to ridicule scholarship and learning and to flatter the masses of people who have found little opportunity or acquired little habit of learning better. The measurement of distance comes when one numbers by the thousands those who believed Mr. Bryan and stood ready to fight for him and to accuse all opponents of sinister motives and mean character. On the other hand, what a chasm is revealed by the startlingly inaccurate statements and reports, the naïve ignorance of ordinary humanity and social order displayed by the learned ignorati who talk and write about all aspects of the situation. To say, with a simple dismissal of further interest or hope, that the great majority of American people are of inferior mentality, without distinguishing between types, individuals, and concrete causes, or to confuse their present lack of experience and learning with the social potential to produce intelligent citizens in other generations, is at least to combine ignorance with the unscientific spirit. Now it may be said that such distance has always existed between scientist and scholar and the common people; and so it has, except that it was never before a conscious distance of antagonism and battle line. Nor has the scholar and scientist in other generations attempted to extend his science and his scholarship into service and democratic leadership, and therefore made contacts so broad and so directly related to the folk. Nor have the taxpayers been so marshaled by visible and in-

visible agencies against learning and education. Yes this distance must be bridged and by the more able leaders.

Education to Meet the Challenge. How shall the school and education meet these larger challenges of their constituency? What are some of the ways in which education may be carried to increasingly large groups of mature folk? We have already discussed the importance of the social curriculum and the school's part in the community and other institutions. We now turn to some specific phases of the school's special service to the people and then to a brief analysis of the modern adult education movement. An important phase of the school's effort to coöperate with the people and at the same time to get in return enthusiastic support for its program is found in boys' and girls' industrial club work. In addition to helping the teacher teach, the agricultural clubs of the boys and girls, together with the household arts clubs of the girls, represent two of the five branches of the larger movement for vocational education, now nowhere disputed to be one of the most fundamental phases of education. The school is, therefore, if it be at all modern, duty bound to encourage and coöperate with all such work consistent with its practical administration and supervision. In point of both numbers and importance upon life, agricultural education and household arts are the two most important aspects of vocational education and it may well be doubted whether either can be taught as well without clubs as with them. Moreover, they are of value in the correlation of the school with home and farm, which is essential to the success of a community-building school. The use of the clubs enables the school to draw on the vast laboratories of farms and homes and hill and stream around the school plant, thus increasing the power of the school to function with limited money at its disposal. The clubs require little of school laboratories in comparison with other methods of teaching vocational subjects, and enable the ordinary schools to become proficient in such work. They also enable a larger use of the school plant and of the school time. In the keeping of records, the study of notes, community observation, exhibits, and contests, the pupil is brought into valuable social relationships and exercised in social essentials. One of the earnest desires of the good teacher in the good school is to educate for social efficiency. The saving of time and the earning of money in these con-

tests constitute valuable economic helps to the pupil and the school.

Increases Respect for the School. The school that teaches its pupils well, and gets into the homes and upon the farms to make better homes and better farms and to understand and sympathize with the practical difficulties of everyday life, wins a permanent place in the hearts of its patrons and in the esteem of the community. Parental interest is a prerequisite of good attendance and good school work and the history of club work has been clearly marked by an ever-increasing concern of parents with the work of pupil and school. In joining hands with the mother and housewife, in teaching the girls the essentials of household arts, in contributing to the social satisfactions of country life, directly and indirectly the boys' and girls' club work gives promise of contributing largely to the revolutionizing of rural civilization in this country. And what a chance for the school to render unto rural womanhood that service, so long needed, of removing drudgery and of offering not only efficiency and joy to the country home but a newer sort of freedom never yet achieved there! In preparing boys and girls to live on the farms and to earn money; in adding to the total wealth of the community; in increasing the respect and abiding love that it itself inspires, the school perpetuates its progressive curriculum and the service to the community, thereby preparing the way for successive improved methods and means of insuring its further success.

The Adult Education Movement. In addition to the special types of coöperation with the community which we have pointed out in our discussion of the school, there are many other ways in which education is being carried to all the people. The parent-teacher association alone has 12,000 or more unit organizations throughout the United States, each of which not only coöperates with the school but, what is more important, gets instruction from the school through lectures, clinics, meetings, demonstrations, and other coöperative ventures. In our chapter on child welfare we called attention to a number of other national agencies through which boys' and girls' club work is promoted by means of coöperation with the adult community. There are, also, many other agencies and organizations through which adult education is promoted; they are only indirectly connected with the

school itself, but include in their curricula much that is found in the school and university curriculum as well as much that the latter are not now organized to teach directly. These agencies consist of university extension divisions, state, county, and national departments of public service and public education, institutes, the public forum, national organizations, museums and exhibits, community programs, corporation programs, workers' education, correspondence schools, lyceums, chautauquas, and other newspaper and radio programs, to which we have already referred. The special efforts to eliminate adult illiteracy will be treated as a separate phase of this larger program.

New Schools for Older Students. An adequate statement of the scope of adult education is presented by Mr. Nathaniel Peffer, in his *New Schools for Older Students*. After calling attention to the large amount of adult education carried on by such institutions as social settlements, playground and recreation associations, 500 or more little theaters, various institutes on political and economic, social, and religious subjects, and such other agencies as the Child Study Association of America, or the Child Welfare Association of America, he describes seven main types. These are the open forum with its weekly meetings and varied programs, the institute with all manner of purposes from research to lectures, individual schools of various sorts, many national associations, corporation educational programs, museums of art and science, and workers' education. "In fine," says Mr. Peffer, "there is adult education. For whatever it may come to in the end, we have it. Something new has emerged in American life, something that cannot be understood without recognizing that it is entirely new. Adult education is not just the extension to the adult of the existing educational system. It is another form of education, to be judged as such."

Subject Matter and Method. The student need only examine such agencies as institutes, individual schools, and national associations to see how wide is their scope. There are many popular lectures and courses on democracy in relation to common problems. Courses on psychology, social philosophy, social problems, human nature and modern civilization, mass movements of history, and many others are organized around the adult social curriculum. Everett Dean Martin, head of the People's Institute in New York,

has incorporated two dozen of his earlier lectures in a volume on *The Meaning of a Liberal Education*, while the lectures for 1925 and 1926 include such subjects as the aim of education, science and scholarship, the evolution of man, education and social progress, science and humanity, internationalism, contrasting ideals of civilization, together with lectures on poetry, music, natural science, and religion. The Educational Division of the Federation of Women's Clubs carries similar instruction to thousands of communities. The extension classes of the Y. M. C. A., the Y. W. C. A., and the Y. M. H. A. give intensive instruction to thousands of young men and women beyond the school age.

Workers' Education. Three other aspects of the subject which need special study are workers' education, education for adult illiterates, and general education for leisure time. Mr. Peffer calls attention to the fact that workers' education is not only an important phase of adult education but that it is also a stage in the evolution of an industrial society. It must be clear, therefore, that it is a part of our larger educational program for democracy. The most important national clearing house of the movement is the Workers' Education Bureau, and the most outstanding national technical school is Brookwood, at Katonah, New York. Other special phases of workers' education, less technically applied, are outlined by Mr. Owen D. Evans, in his *Educational Opportunities for Young Workers*. In this volume he discusses the development of the day and evening schools, their relation to labor organization, and to school and employment, the relation of the old and new apprenticeship systems to the development of special education for the young workers, and the large number of young workers scattered among various types of community life in the United States. There are problems differing one from the other as communities differ, possessing rural, village, industrial, or urban characteristics. Educational opportunities include coöperative schools with which alternate instruction and practical training, apprenticeship schools, evening schools with their multifold opportunities, and continuation schools. Alongside these efforts is the important movement for vocational guidance. Mr. Evans concludes:

> This review of educational opportunities for young workers shows that there has been a consistent development of agencies and of methods. There is an abundance of well-tried experience which indicates a probably

successful means for remedying any important deficiency, but our theory is far ahead of our practice. In every community educators may be found who know what remedy is needed for local ills, yet these remedies are not available for vast numbers of young workers. Of the five million young workers not more than half of one million are in evening schools, a quarter of a million are in continuation schools, and those who have access to coöperative classes, apprentice training and central guidance agencies may be numbered by thousands. The proportion diminishes steadily as observation passes from the larger cities to the small towns, the villages and the rural districts. We need literally a campaign of education that our people may be induced to profit by the experience of the more progressive communities and give a chance to all the children of all the people.

Education for Adult Illiterates. In many parts of the country, especially in rural areas and in city areas with a large foreign-born population, the problem of illiteracy is an important one. With hundreds of thousands of people who cannot read destined not to attend school again, ignorance becomes an appalling obstacle in the way of an enlightened democracy. There were in the United States in 1920 a total of 4,333,111 adult illiterates, of whom 477,123 were women. There have been many efforts, therefore, to reach the adult illiterates. This problem concerns most largely the southern states, both among whites and Negroes. There have grown up in Kentucky what are called moonlight schools, named picturesquely to call to mind some of the romantic phases of teaching older people to read. A number of states have instituted divisions of adult education, such as North Carolina, South Carolina, Oklahoma; while others have given considerable attention to the problem. The Division of Adult Education in the federal Bureau of Education at Washington also centers its activities in this field. One of the most important experiments that has been made is that sponsored by Mrs. Elizabeth C. Morriss of Buncombe County, North Carolina. With the coöperation of the Superintendent of Schools, Buncombe County has made trial of the consolidating of evening schools. The same school trucks which carry children in the daytime are used in the evening. Not only are the three R's taught, but the subject matter includes information concerning healthy living, good food, wholesome recreation, thrift, citizenship, and coöperation. Thus the mountain folk come to a

school emphasizing a social curriculum the text for which has just been published by the University of North Carolina Press under the title of *The Citizen's Reference Book.*

Education for Leisure Time. No more significant situation has developed in American life than that of the increasing amount of leisure which is becoming available for all classes of people. There is, consequently, an important problem of providing education for leisure time. The reduction of hours of labor on the one hand, and on the other the increasing wealth which offers the citizen more freedom than ever before, make new demands upon the individual and upon society for the bridging of this gap between work and leisure. Mr. Henry Ford, for instance, proposes a five-day week working program, the working hours of each day being themselves reduced. An even less marked reduction of working hours finds thousands of folk, accustomed to hard labor without education for leisure, faced with the problem of how to spend time and money well. Not only this, but modern machinery, which monopolizes the field of industry, can be operated successfully by a worker with only a limited amount of school education. The high school graduate can perform essential tasks as well as or perhaps better than the university man or woman. The school and community, then, are faced with the task of providing broader and deeper types of education for culture and leisure time after they have finished their relatively simple task of giving the elements necessary for machine operation. Mr. Arthur Pound, in his *Iron Man* has developed this theme effectively.

University Extension. Combining more fully than any other movement all these phases of adult education is that of university extension. We have already called attention to the number of people enrolled in these courses. Ever since the beginnings of the movement at the University of Wisconsin, large numbers of state universities and privately endowed institutions like Columbia, have been more and more extending their instruction to the field at large. University extension has been well described by Mr. Hall-Quest, in his volume *The University Afield.* The program of the University of North Carolina, for instance, one of the earlier pioneers, is typical of the scope and method of this sort of adult education. Its extension division includes fourteen bureaus of activities: Class Instruction, Correspondence Instruction, Public

Discussion, Lectures and Short Courses, Community Drama, Commercial and Industrial Relations, Community Music, Visual Instruction, Local Government Research and Information, Economic and Social Surveys, Recreation and Community Organization, High School Debating and Athletics, Design and Improvement of School Grounds, Educational Service and Research. Other universities provide similar opportunities, many in larger and more varied ways.

FOR FURTHER STUDY

For Information

1. Distinguish between "schooling" and "education."
2. What are some of the services of a University Extension Department?
3. What were the essential points involved in the evolution trial at Dayton in 1925?
4. Through what avenues is adult education carried on in the United States?
5. How many students in the United States receive instruction through general adult education activities?

For Stimulating Thought

6. How has the school advanced toward its new task of discovering the people?
7. What is the significance of over 16,000 requests coming to a state university for information in one year?
8. What is the social significance of Mr. Bryan's statement that the majority of the people are fundamentalists?
9. Why a fight against science in a supposedly enlightened age?
10. Mecklin quotes a Jesuit mathematician of the middle 18th century as stating, "As for me, full of respect for the Holy Scriptures and the decree of the Holy Inquisition, I regard the earth as immovable; nevertheless, for simplicity in explanation, I will argue as if the earth moves; for it is proved of the *two hypotheses* the appearances favor this idea." Compare this and other

medieval limitations with certain movements in the United States in 1925.

For Research and Creative Writing

11. Review the methods of science and scientific inquiry. Show the paradox of bitter argument and dispute over a scientific matter.
12. Describe the efforts and activities of a night school for adult illiterates.
13. Make a study of organizations devoted to securing co-operation between school and community.
14. Write the story of the Kentucky moonlight schools.
15. Study the industries in a given city with a view to discovering any library or educational facilities for the use of the workers.

For Practical Application

16. Plan a better program for interpreting science and education to the people.
17. What efforts have been made toward education for leisure time in the local community?
18. How many adult illiterates are there in the local state and what provision is being made for their education?
19. Plan a county-wide program of adult education.
20. Select fifteen of the American Library Association's little volumes on *Reading With a Purpose* and plan reading courses.

For Continuity of Effort

21. List organizations in the local county for the promotion of adult education.
22. Show what one parent-teachers' association has done in the way of carrying knowledge to the people.
23. Outline efforts of the Y. M. C. A., the Y. W. C. A., and the Y. M. H. A. for adult education.
24. What are your resources for workers' education?
25. List reading facilities for the adult population in a given city or town.

For Effective Reading

26. For special study: Hart's *Adult Education*, Morriss' *Citizens' Reference Book*, Lindeman's *The Meaning of Adult Education*, Peffer's *New Schools for Older Students*, Martin's *The Meaning of a Liberal Education*.
27. For sampling or exhaustive reading: Almack, Hall-Quest, Harper, Hart, J. K., Hofsinger, Jones, T. J., Keppel, Lindeman, Martin, Morriss, Peffer, Sharlip, Stewart, Washburne, Yeaxlee.

CHAPTER XXII

RELIGION AND SOCIETY

Religion and Conflict. In the previous chapter we enumerated at length a number of the aspects of conflict between religion and science as manifested in the general attitude of large numbers of the common folk in America. In that chapter we mentioned this conflict in connection with the larger task of education needed to bridge the distance between the advanced stage of knowledge and civilization and the majority of the people who have not had opportunity for contacts and education commensurate with their need. The most critical phase of this conflict is the deep misunderstanding between religion and various manifestations of social change. So true is this that the disharmony appears to be, for the time being, one of the major social forces of this era.

An Era Prolific in Discussion. Next to fiction and volumes on social subjects there have been published a larger number of books dealing with various phases of the conflict between religion and science than in any other field. Of the total of 9,225 volumes published in the United States in 1926, 933 dealt with religious subjects, as compared with the next largest number, 544, on sociology. In Great Britain, out of a total of 12,799 volumes, 863 were devoted to religion, with the next highest number, 848, to sociology. These are exclusive of fiction and juveniles. Indeed, as Professor Hankins points out in his comprehensive review of literature on this subject, in *Social Forces* for May, 1925.

> One who has followed the output of literature during the past half-dozen years must have been impressed with the great interest thereby revealed in things religious. Professor Giddings has advanced the generalization that an era of peace and plenty is an era of doubt and skepticism, but an era of war and social crisis is an era of faith and mysticism. Certain it is that the war intensified certain religious controversies, opened afresh questions pertaining to the Christian way of life and the rôle of the Church, and gave a powerful impetus to Fundamentalism, Anti-Evolutionism and Anti-Intellectualism. The conflict of science

with theology once more became a matter of uppermost interest. To those who declared that Christianity had failed to save the world from disaster, it was replied that Christianity had never been tried and that in fact it was science which had proven to be a Frankenstein. To this in turn the scientific skeptic responded that Christianity had proven in 1900 years that it never would be tried and that the remedy for the destructive power which science has achieved was not the darkness of obscurantist caves but the full glare of the unobstructed light of complete knowledge. Thus amid the newspaper reports of a revival of religious intolerance and persecution in church and college the merry controversy rose to almost dramatic episodes only to subside once more to an outward respectability.

Religion and Social Problems. Although it is important for the student to keep in mind that religion, its methods, spirit, and content, are far removed from science and that their purposes are distinct, it is very necessary to understand the place which religion holds in the molding of social institutions and social structure. In this volume we have many times illustrated the meaning and scope of social problems. Is religion, then, a social problem? When is religion a social problem? Can the scientific student of society ignore the problem of the church and religion in modern society? To what extent is he competent to study their problems and draw conclusions? These and other similar questions will be answered in the considerations which follow in this chapter. In so much as religion is a dominant factor in determining and maintaining attitudes toward individuals and society it is, for our study under the plan of this volume, a very important factor. In so far as religion determines and colors attitudes which in turn affect the policies and destinies of whole peoples, religion is a social problem. In so far as religion is an important part in the building of institutions, in social conflict, in divisive and unifying processes, in contributing to the spiritual and creative urge of people, it is a fundamental social problem. In so far as the church constitutes one of the major social institutions, it becomes a major social problem for the purposes of this volume. One need but to examine the course of past events to illustrate these statements. The influence of Christianity, for instance, upon the whole fabric of government and of other institutions is a case in point. Another case in point is the history

of education with its beginnings in religious ritual, and as late as the modern era the church's major influence in establishing higher education in this country. Indeed, the history of peoples cannot be written without an important portion being devoted to religion from primitive man to the present time. Nor can the modern social problems and conflict be understood or attacked without a thorough knowledge of the backgrounds upon which religious sanctions have been built. Therefore it is important to review briefly something of the place of religion, and afterwards of the church, in the products of our modern civilization.

Primitive Religion. In the religion of primitive man nature was accorded a dominant rôle. He struggled with the supernatural and sought power of controlling human destiny in the forces of nature. The inanimate became animate by the possession of a supernatural spirit; trees, rocks, rivers, and animals became potent forces for good or evil fortune. They were feared and reverenced; consciousness of natural surroundings was imperative for in them lay power and human destiny. The belief in invisible but powerful spirits constituted a large part of primitive religion. There were spirits which inhabited people; others which animated nature and animals; and lastly, independent or free spirits. This belief in the possession of a soul not only by human beings but by natural objects and animals as well is called animism. Every man was dual; he possessed not only a material body but an invisible soul as well. Without this invisible soul man was as nothing, for it was this soul which gave life to the body. At death the soul, departing from the body, might linger near, travel far away, or enter into another human, animal, or plant form. Not only was the vitality of man due to a spirit soul but inanimate objects and animals were, as we have said, often likewise possessed. Sometimes it was thought that the soul of an ancestor had taken up his abode in an animal, a supposition which gave rise to the totem animal and the cult of animal ancestry. There was a full belief in transmigration of souls from animal to human bodies and vice versa. Moreover, the soul of a human might enter a tree or rock. This freedom of spirits to enter various objects gave rise to fetishism. A fetish was any object which was thought to embody a spirit and which received worship and deference befitting its power to effect good or bad fortunes. Disease

and demoniac possession were caused by the irruption of free spirits into the body. Most often spirits were associated with harmful effects, and hence arose magical practices to outwit the spirits, or to taboo certain objects, places, or actions in the effort to placate or to avoid displeasing them.

The World's Great Religions. In two instances already we have called attention to the part which the world's great religions have played in molding standards. In the one instance we have pointed out what the great religions have contributed to the formal wisdom and morality of the race. In the other we have indicated the standards which the great religions have set for the good life. The student has observed how these religions, taking form here and there, attempting to glean the best of social evolution, have embodied their wisdom in sacred books to be used as guideposts of human destiny. The student will note remarkable similarity and unanimity in the verdicts which the great religions have passed on from generation to generation. And he will note the comprehensive part which religion has played in the folk wisdom of the world. Alike the primitive religions, and the later formal religions have attempted to bridge the universal distance between the human and the divine, between the knowable and the unknowable, between the temporal and the eternal. Here, too, the student will note, however, that there have been constant changes, gradual evolutions, continuous aspirations toward a more effective religious expression which would be satisfying to the individual and to the race.

Fundamental Social Principles. In discussing the religious basis of the good life we called attention to more than a score of principles in which the major religions agreed. Mr. Martin, in *The Fellowship of Faiths*, points out how

> It is made scripturally apparent that all religions are one in that they share in *common religious* and moral ideas and *ideals* of paramount and permanent worth. As for the differences that keep them apart, it is the sublime mission of modern friends of fraternity in religion to show forth the *organic oneness* of those historic faiths, a oneness that takes account of and has profound respect for these differences, seeing that they serve an indispensable purpose in the attaining of a nobler unity than that which rests solely upon acceptance of the resemblances. That nobler unity is founded upon frank recognition of differences, conscious

that each of the great religions has some excellence peculiar to itself which it may contribute toward the enhancement of all the rest and receive in return the manifold contributions of all the others toward the enrichment of its own power to inspire and uplift.

In the same volume Swami Paramananda says: "Comparative study of various faiths is without question one of the most important factors in human progress, not only from the viewpoint of ethics and religion, but as a means for widening our vista of greater usefulness to mankind." And Mr. Channing Pollock says: "No one could do a greater work than to promote a 'Fellowship of Faiths' . . . to end by urging what all religions began by adjuring. To show that all faiths are fundamentally the same, and that antagonisms between them are as foolish and unjustified as they are wicked and ignorant, is a big job for a big man."

The Essence of Community. Among the most important and the most timely principles of unity in all religions is that of the brotherhood of man or the essence of community. Perhaps the greatest social contribution of Christianity to the world has been its idea of community. "Loving one's neighbor as one's self," "in honor preferring one another," "all members of one body," are phrases which signify the challenge of Christianity to break down barriers. The parable of the Samaritan as the good neighbor strikes at the heart of the modern problem of creed and race conflict even more vigorously than it applied to that of the old days. Rabindranath Tagore, representing the spirit of the East, has it that "The man from the East, with his faith in the eternal, who in his soul had met the touch of the Supreme Person—did he never come to you in the West and speak to you of the Kingdom of Heaven? Did he not *unite the East and the West in truth*, in the unity of one spiritual bond between all children of the Immortal, in the realization of one great Personality in all human persons?"

Contrasts and Conflicts. One of the chief problems of all religions and especially a modern problem is the contrast between the spirit of religions and the practice of their followers. In many instances this becomes conflict between the spirit and creed. Sometimes it is formalism and tradition over against the heart of original principles. In most cases the inconsistencies and alterations are social products and therefore the elimination of

undesirable situations becomes a matter of social study. Channing Pollock has stated that the founders of all religions have preached universal love, while their followers and disciples have taught universal hate. He concludes that the world's tragic crop of prejudices, resentments, intolerances, and blind misunderstandings, resulting in war and murder and hate, have been augmented greatly by religion. And in the modern world we have often the astonishing paradox of the church preaching peace and good will and at the same time actively supporting war, hatred, and slaughter. This, of course, is easily explained and by many justified in terms of the social situation. But such explanation does not alter the facts. And Mahatma Gandhi calls attention to another striking paradox of religion in that this age has become an age of hypocrisy and insincerity. He says, "Men, to whatever religion they may belong, care only for the external aspects of religion, and give the go-by to all its fundamental principles." It appears to the modern student of social affairs in the United States that most of the bitterness in present controversies arises out of this false situation in which form and creed are confused with the spirit and the eternal verities.

The Essence and Form of Great Religions. Unlike the other great religions, *Brahmanism* had no illustrious founder or eminent leader. It arose from the caste system in India, where the Brahmans or priests constituted the highest caste. The distinguishing feature of this religion was the belief in and desire for divine absorption, or absorption into the Brahma or God. With the faith of its adherents in the transmigration of souls, the whole of earthly existence consisted in a weary round of one life after another. There was no heaven, and the only relief from this endless living was absorption into Brahma. Since this finality was spiritual in distinction to material, the aspiration toward such a state led to asceticism and withdrawal into the jungles away from human companionship. The essential feature of *Buddhism* as conceived by its founder was emphasis upon the finite world and obedience of natural laws. Buddha did not teach a strict allegiance to any God, nor to a belief in immortality. To him there was a finite and an infinite world. Since there can be no knowledge of an infinite world, emphasis was placed upon the attainment of peace in the finite world and upon human develop-

ment. To Buddha interest in God must be superseded by interest in man. Man was everything. Love for humanity had a dominant rôle. Buddhism was distinguished by a widespread missionary spirit, manifested not in coercion but in rational appeal through exhortations. The followers of Buddha hailed him as the "Enlightened One," and he was soon exalted into a god and so worshiped. *Confucianism* is distinguished by reverence for the past, conservatism, and the preservation of order. Ancestor-worship took the place of reverence for the gods. Filial piety was the supreme virtue. Change was not desired; crystallization and order were the supreme aims. To attain this end there was reliance upon moral admonition and prescriptions consisting of "three hundred points of ceremony and three thousand points of behavior." A basic principle of *Zoroastrianism* was justice. The world is divided between the good and the bad. There is an eternal conflict and balancing of the scales between these two forces, but in the end the good will triumph over the evil. To Zoroaster there were two powerful and supernatural beings, one typifying the good and the other the evil. Every individual must choose between them and there could be no compromise. The good god was a god of justice and not of mercy. The followers of Ahura Mazda, or the god of justice, would after death rest in heaven, but the followers of Angra Mainyu, or the evil god, would surely be doomed to hell. Then at last there would come a final and terrible conflict between the two gods with ultimate victory for the god of justice and his disciples and annihilation for the god of evil and his followers. The central theme of *Mohammedanism* is the belief in one supreme being. Salvation is attained only through submission and obedience to Allah, or the supreme God. There is a firm belief in immortality after death; those who have led dutiful lives are conveyed to heaven and those whose lives have been ill-spent are hurled into hell, where there is great torture and no release or mercy. At the final Judgment Day, the "sinners" will be utterly annihilated and those in heaven will be brought back to this world to spend all eternity in an earthly paradise.

Religion and Social Justice. Alongside the elemental passion for life and love perhaps there is no more important aspiration of humankind than the passion for personal freedom and social

justice. While primitive religion had as its main features the explanation of physical phenomena and the desire of the individual to be in harmony with life and its forces, later religions have taken on the ethical qualities of righteousness, of justice, of morality. Running through the great religions is the ideal of justice, of consideration for the weak, and of social righteousness. In the history of civilization injustice has been found to prevail most widely in eight major fields of social life, each, of course, centering around individuals in class groups. The story of the world's tragedies for a long time found much of its suffering in cases of injustice to *children*. In another chapter we have enumerated two score or more outstanding injustices which civilization has accumulated in its treatment of *woman*. Much of the world's tragedy also has been bound up with the injustice imposed upon the weaker *races* by the stronger. The depriving of the *individual of his personality* or his rights to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" throughout the history of the world has created the intolerable conditions out of which sprang our evolving democracies. The *workers* of the world have likewise found their lot a hard one, with varying degrees of suffering and injustice. Once again, the *socially deficient* have often been victims not only of many inequalities but of social injustice and misery. So also the lot of the *aged* has been particularly difficult, often contradictory of the social ideals of justice and righteousness. And there are always the *war sufferers*—children and wives and mothers—and masses of troops whose heroic rôle of suffering and sacrifice has been all out of proportion to their just deserts. In these great sinks of social injustice society has failed in its efforts toward true adjustment. Religion and philosophy have contributed their part, to be followed by education and social organization; and perhaps all of these are to be guided ultimately by social science and the larger humanity.

Christianity and Social Justice. As may be seen from our previous glance at the world's large religions, each has embodied in its principles many of the ideals of individual and social justice. Nevertheless, the coming of Christianity on the scene ushered in new ideals which have had an immense effect on the world's later history. We have already called attention to the emphasis which Christianity placed upon the little child. Perhaps the

world has made more rapid and complete progress in the elimination of injustice to the child than in any other achievement. The spirit of Christianity, too, magnified the personality of woman and her place in society, and caused the first stirrings of reform and of liberality toward woman and her sufferings. Christianity also proclaimed justice for all peoples and all races. Also the essence of Christian democracy lies at the bottom of the newer attempts for a better distribution of the world's goods and of more equity in the relation between employer and employee. While much progress, too, has been made in the world's treatment of the aged, perhaps one of Christianity's larger contributions is yet to be realized in the newer common-sense attitudes and provisions for making the lives of older people more happy and useful. Christianity has also ushered in new ideals of justice for the delinquent, the dependent, and the defective folk. Not an eye for an eye, nor a tooth for a tooth, but a larger social justice represents the goal. The good Samaritan and his wounded neighbor, the Master social worker and the penitent Magdalene, and the rendering to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's represent principles of social justice hitherto unapproached. And finally, the very essence of Christianity in its birth was the spirit of peace on earth and good will toward men.

Limitations and Shortcomings. As compared with those of the past, the chronicle of present efforts to eliminate social injustice is most encouraging, and the part which Christianity has played in them has been an important one. Nevertheless there are always the recurring tendencies toward reaction on the one hand and toward fixed creeds and formalism on the other. Religions in general, including Christianity itself, have, in the evolution of their formal programs, not only forgotten their principles of social justice but have sometimes contributed to social injustice. Child labor and other injustices to children have often been defended in the name of religion and parental authority. Much of the discrimination against women has been practiced under the militant advocacy of formal religion and morality. The church has often opposed programs for social justice to the worker. A large part of racial discrimination and injustice has been sanctioned by the church and religion. Much of the newer ideal of justice for the defective has been opposed by some of the forces of the

church on grounds of its old doctrines of sin and retribution. And, paradoxical as it may seem, the church has been one of the staunchest supporters of war. Although the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America and many periodicals, individuals and leaders throughout the nation are, in season and out of season, preaching the doctrine of peace, it is still true that many organizations of ministers and many church folk hold organized efforts toward peace to be a species of radicalism and unpatriotic propaganda. The student of modern society must, therefore, attempt to make new interpretations of the principles of Christianity, taking into account the limitations of formal religion as well as the views of those critics who hold that on the one hand Christianity is supporting social injustice and on the other is developing a weak race through its insistence on the less virile virtues.

Christianity and the Institutions. Just as Christianity has played a large part in the changing of social standards, with special reference to social justice, so it has had a large place in the present products of the social institutions. And for the future there is offered the same challenge to the modern church as to the institutions to provide a leadership in the social field commensurate with the progress and needs of society. The modern institutionalized *family* is a joint product of church and state, while the larger sanction of religion on *home and family* life has been a dominant factor in its development. The earliest forms of the *school and education* were promoted by religious sanction, and even in America the system of higher schools and universal education had its genesis in church programs. The importance of *work and industry* as a law of life has long been a basic principle of religions in general and of Christianity in particular. And the essence of community itself, of world community, of the community of fellowship, is bound up in the Christian principles of loving one's neighbor as one's self, without distinction of race or creed. In the next chapter, on Government, we shall illustrate at length the influence which Christianity has had upon one of the major institutions. At this point, however, we are interested in discovering what are the next steps which church, religion, and morality shall take in the advancement of modern social institutions. Here again there is in each of the institutions a very clear-cut challenge to the church. Shall its official creed and

ritual make the stability of the family more difficult because of its insistence upon forms relating to the home? Shall its conflict with the state, its limitation of freedom, alienate it from the modern movement for democracy? Shall its conflict with science and its fight against truth bar it forever from its former great part in the promotion of education? Shall its creeds and conflicts contradict the spirit of its Founder through which the ideals of world peace were set in motion?

Questions for the Modern Church. The student is therefore particularly interested in answering the following major questions which apply to the modern church. For it would seem fair to estimate that the causes for certain transfers of leadership from the church and the future status of such leadership may both center around the following inquiries:

To what extent will the church succeed in serving and maintaining the interest and participation of the higher educated groups, as well as of the socially prominent groups?

To what extent will the church succeed in serving and maintaining the interest and participation of the great industrial groups, as well as of those other groups commonly designated as the lowest classes?

To what extent will the church succeed in serving and maintaining the interest and participation of modern young folks and that great group of awakening youth searching after new spiritual expression?

To what extent will the church succeed in developing and making articulate the social Christianity of Christ rather than ecclesiastical dogmatism based upon countless controversial interpretations and cumulative technique?

To what extent will the church succeed in working out effectively its status and its stand with reference to the reconciliation of science and religion, together with its determination of educational objectives?

To what extent will the church succeed in attracting, training, and maintaining a strong ministry for leadership in answering the above inquiries?

Church Programs. It is not the purpose of this chapter to go into detail concerning the problems of church management or the items of church creed. In order, however, to ascertain to what extent the modern church is attempting to function in a larger way, the student might examine the work being done by city churches, by rural churches, and by certain composite efforts of

combined churches. In his *1,000 City Churches* and their efforts to adapt themselves to city environment, H. Paul Douglass has summarized many of the major problems and methods of the modern city church. He lists thirty-three organizations and activities of the modern city church in the order of their importance. For example, preaching and Sunday School are found in all churches, ladies' aid or guild organizations are found in at least 90 per cent of the churches, women's missionary societies in at least 85 per cent, and young people's societies in more than 80 per cent. The other activities he lists in order as follows: chorus choir, general social events, men's organization, Boy Scouts, mission study classes, organized welcome, orchestra or band, boys' club (not Scouts), lectures, library, girls' club (not Scouts) concerts, Girl Scouts or equivalent, mothers' or parents' organization, young women's organization, dramatic clubs, gymnasium classes, sewing classes, kindergarten, domestic science classes, employment office, music classes, visiting nurse, health classes, English classes, dramatic classes, day nursery, dispensary or clinic, civics and economics classes.

The Rural Church. Dr. Douglass points out the close relation between the rural church and the city church, showing that the city church still has a large number of carry-overs and overlappings from its rural heritage. For he points out that the city church is an evolved rural church, its immediate ancestor being the town church. From this observation he comes to the conclusion that the city should modify its church and readapt it to new conditions. Nevertheless, there is still the other great problem of readapting the rural and town churches, which must be attacked if for no other reason than the fact that approximately three-fourths of the church membership in this country will be found in places of less than 25,000 population. In the order of their percentage of membership in such places, the denominations are the Churches of Christ with approximately 95 per cent; the Christian Church a little less; the Lutheran a little less; the Baptists' Southern Convention only a little less; and the others in the order named below: Church of the Brethren; Methodist Protestant; Methodist Episcopal, South; Colored Methodist Episopal; Lutheran, Norwegian Synod; United Brethren in Christ; Lutheran, Synod of Iowa; Baptists, National Conven-

tion; Disciples of Christ; Latter Day Saints; Methodist Episcopal; African Methodist Episcopal, Zion; African Methodist Episcopal; Presbyterian Church in the United States; Evangelical Association; Lutheran, Joint Synod of Ohio; Reformed Church in the U. S. A.; Lutheran, Synodical Conference; United Presbyterian; Lutheran, General Synod; Congregational Churches; Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.; Baptists, Northern Convention; Lutheran, General Council; German Evangelical Synod; Reformed Church in America; Protestant Episcopal; Roman Catholic; Greek Orthodox, Hellenic; Jewish Congregations.

Measuring the Country Church. In other chapters we have referred to methods of measuring intellect, individuality, institutions. We have called attention to the limitations of objective measuring scales as well as emphasized their value as methods of analysis. *The Standard Rural Church*, as rated by the Home Mission Department of the Methodist Episcopal Church, presents a score card having the same advantages and limitations:

I. Pastor—(1) Church has a resident pastor living within the bounds of this community; (2) pastor devotes at least three-fourths of his time to the work of the community.

II. Parish—(3) Church works systematically to extend its parish to the limits of the community; (4) church works systematically to serve all occupational classes in the community and all racial elements which do not have their own Protestant Churches.

III. Physical Equipment—(5) A church building providing an auditorium with a seating capacity approximately equal to the maximum attendance at a regular service, and equipped with a piano or organ; (6) provision for social and recreational purposes, with movable chairs and a stage, sufficient to accommodate the largest crowds which are in the habit of assembling; (7) separate rooms or curtained spaces for Sunday School classes or departments; (8) stereopticon or motion-picture machine; (9) a well-equipped kitchen; (10) an up-to-date parsonage; (11) adequate sanitary toilets on the church property; (12) hitching places for horses and parking places for automobiles; (13) all property kept in good repair and in sightly condition.

IV. Religious Education—(14) Sunday School maintained throughout the year; (15) Sunday School enrollment at least equal to church membership; (16) definite and regular attempt made to bring pupils into the church, and the offering of specific instruction in preparation therefor; (17) provision for Teachers' Training Classes and Workers' Council;

(18) definite provision for training of leaders for church and community work.

V. Finance—(19) The church budget, including both local expenses and benevolences, adopted annually; (20) every-member canvass made annually on the basis of the local and benevolent budget adopted; all church members and adherents to be canvassed; envelope system used; (21) the budget for benevolences at least 25 per cent as large as the regular current expense budget; (22) the pastor receiving a total salary of at least $1,200 a year and home, with an annual increase up to at least $1,800 and house within five years.

VI. Program—(23) A definite program of work adopted annually, including (in addition to points mentioned above): (24) a definite assumption of responsibility with respect to some part of the program by at least 25 per cent of the active members; (25) public worship every Sunday; (26) systematic evangelism aimed to reach the entire community and every class in the community; (27) thorough coöperation with all denominational boards and agencies; (28) community service, including a continuous and cumulative study of social, moral, and economic forces of the community and a definite program of community coöperation, led or participated in by the church; (29) coöperation with the other churches of the community; (30) definite organized activities for the various age and sex groups in the congregation and community; (31) a systematic and cumulative survey of the parish with a view to determining the church relationships and religious needs of EVERY family, and such mapping of the parish as will show the relationships of each family to the church.

The Community Church. One of the important movements in the modern church has been that which emphasizes unity and discourages overdenominationalism. The most concrete example of this tendency has been the movement toward the community church. The conflict between local denominations and creeds, competitive bases upon which membership, finance, and loyalties are promoted, and the general ineffectiveness of church programs call church members everywhere to the task of more combination and more coördination. A resolution adopted by a regional conference of community churches held in Boston, as reported in the *Country Life Bulletin* for May, 1924, summarizes some of the objectives of the community church: The Community Church is an institution which furnishes to people of a given area an opportunity to unite in giving free and adequate expression to their

religious ideals. Substituting for the creedal and ecclesiastical principles of organization the religious purposes of the people crystallized into an organization, the Community Church stands for righteousness, justice, love and for the free search for truth and leads in the task of helping people to make their religion function successfully for the common good of all. The Community Church is opposed to anything in the community's life or intruded upon the community from without which is divisive, which engenders hate and strife and which breaks the bond of fellowship between the people of sincere and lofty aspirations. It stresses the Gospel of unity and coöperation and strives to build in a certain area the Kingdom of God or 'The Beloved Community.' The Community Church, while not opposing creeds and theological opinions, insists that people representing many different creeds can worship and work together in one Church just as successfully as many people of opposing political opinions can live together in the same country. The Community Church advocates no uniform Church organization. Just as the intellectual concepts of religious principles are left to the individual so the local Community Church is free to organize the people's ideals in a manner which best suits the local needs. What the Community Churches have in common is a spirit growing out of common purposes and made effective by vigorous programs of service.

The Church and Social Problems. Another phase of modern church work is emphasis upon the social gospel and its relation to social problems. The church has given particular attention to problems of race, of international relations, and industry. Mr. Alva W. Taylor has stated the problem of the church in relation to industry in the following summary:

> Misunderstanding and suspicion between employer and employees are like emery grit in the wheels of the industrial machine. It is all waste and usually the result of a failure to manage well the human factor. The magnificent genius that has made American industry the most productive in the world has the power to make American industrial relations the most peaceful in the world, once it addresses itself to this problem with as much acumen as it has addressed itself to the other. Strife in industry affects not only the shop but the entire community. It becomes the business of the churches to take an interest in it, not alone because of the individuals involved, but because the peace of the entire community is

involved. The Social Service Commission of the Federal Council is seeking to promote the spirit of conciliation by endeavoring to get leaders on both sides to sit down together like open-hearted men desiring to understand one another and talk things out from a Christian point of view. Where they refuse to do this we go to both sides with our evangel of goodwill, hoping to convert, if not all, at least some who will become leaders of this evangel within the field of industry. We endeavor also to enlist preachers, editors, teachers and all other leaders of public opinion in this viewpoint, until there shall be insistent and persistent preaching of the ideas of understanding and coöperation in the place of suspicion and competition between these two necessary factors in industrial relationships.

A similar quotation from the Lambeth conference held in London, at which there were present 252 bishops representing the Anglican churches throughout the world, gives a concise statement of the attitude of the church towards industry:

On the technical side of economics, which is a science for experts, the Church has no authority. But whenever in the working out of economic or of political theory moral issues are directly involved, the Church has a duty to see that the requirements of righteousness are faced and fairly met. The Church will, for instance, maintain that fellowship is endangered if all who serve do not share equitably in the results of labor. For this is part of Christian justice. The Church will fearlessly claim that the human character of every worker is more sacred than his work; that his worth as a child of God and member of the fellowship must not be forgotten, or imperiled by any form of industrial slavery. For this belongs to the spirit of Christian liberty. In all such things the Church will, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, proclaim its message of brotherhood and mutual service, founded on the Divine purpose for men, and will aid the community in giving active expression to it.

FOR FURTHER STUDY

For Information

1. When is religion a social problem?
2. Give the essential features of Brahmanism, Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, Confucianism, and Mohammedanism.
3. Name eight phases of social injustice and discuss the relation of Christianity to them.
4. What are the objectives of the community church?

5. What per cent of the books published in the United States and Great Britain in 1926 were on religious subjects?

For Stimulating Thought

6. Is the United States maintaining its policy of separation of church and state? Yes? No?
7. How much truth is there in Channing Pollock's statement that the founders of all religions have preached universal love and their followers have taught universal hate?
8. Explain the church's support of war.
9. Why has there been such a large number of books published on religious subjects in recent years?
10. What evidence is there to indicate that there is more or less interest in religion now than two decades ago?

For Research and Creative Writing

11. Study any four of the great religions, including Christianity, and arrange characteristics in parallel columns.
12. Trace the ideal of the brotherhood of man through all the great religions.
13. Analyze the concept of justice according to the various religions.
14. Make a study of sects and denominations in the United States, attempting to classify according to differences in form and function.
15. Review Lewis Browne's *This Believing World.*

For Practical Application

16. What has been the history of the church's relation to education in the United States?
17. Enumerate examples in which the local church alleviates suffering and promotes justice.
18. Give concrete cases of how formalized Christianity has contributed to social injustice.
19. Select a dozen churches and measure them according to the questions enumerated in the text as criteria for the modern church.
20. Study a rural church and measure it by the score card presented by the Home Mission Department of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

For Continuity of Effort

21. Describe local efforts for a community church.
22. Discuss the relation of the local church to the other institutions.
23. Is the number of college men preparing for the ministry increasing in as rapid ratio as the church population?
24. To what extent is the local church recruiting and holding its youth?
25. To what extent is the church contributing toward community leadership?

For Effective Reading

26. For special study: Browne's *This Believing World*, Chapters in *The Outline of Christianity*, Douglass' *1,000 City Churches*, Dinsmore's *Religious Certitude in an Age of Science*, Davis' *The Church and Business*.
27. For sampling or exhaustive reading: Agar, Andrews, C. F., Babson, Brown, W. A., Calkins, Carlyle, Case, Church, Cunningham, W., Davies, D. J., Diffendorfer, Durkheim, Ellwood, Fitch, A. P., Gabriel, Harkness, Harper, Holt, A. E., Martin. A. W., Mecklin, Mullins, Nickerson, Oldham, Peabody, Penty, Piper, Robinson, M. L., Stead, Stelzle, Davis, Zumbrunnen.

CHAPTER XXIII

GOVERNMENT AND DEMOCRACY

A Central Institution. We come now to the central institution of government, which has often been considered synonymous with all social organization. The story of government has abounded in mixed theories and experiments. Its evolution has been no less marked and full of changes than the development of other institutions. On the theoretical side concepts of state and government have differed widely, and on the practical side the purposes of government have too often been misunderstood. The student of social problems, therefore, ought to understand something of the origin, theories, development, and functions of government, and to know something of its relation to other institutions. For the state itself is a product of the influence of other institutions, having been affected largely by data and practice from the fields of religion, natural law, community, and from other sources. On the one hand we may study government from the viewpoint of social guidance and social control, and on the other hand from the viewpoint of the citizen and the individual in society.

Government a Key Institution. It can easily be seen that, in the development and control of social institutions and forces, the key institution is that of the state and government. It is equally clear that the problem of measuring the influences acting upon government involves to-day more factors than ever before. We have, for instance, legislation and social service for such purposes as the nurture and protection of the home and family, the promotion of more comprehensive social education, the protection of religious liberties, the guarantee of civil and political rights, the recognition, promotion, and control of great economic processes, the unifying of groups and peoples, and the promotion of universal peace. All of these are important concerns of the state. On the other hand, it is quite clear that the home and family, the technique and processes of education, the history and development of Christianity, the growth of the great movements for com-

munity organization and for world peace—all these forces have in their evolution, form, and ideals remolded the institution of the State: government is now not simply a policing power but a social servant. How the great institution of government has evolved through its various stages and how the elements of Christianity have affected it, both indirectly through the other institutions and directly since the Reformation, is one of the most interesting stories of human institutions. There is mystery in it, for the outcome is ever uncertain, and a good deal of villainy; nevertheless it is a great story, with promise of a happy outcome for all human beings who are concerned in it.

Social Theories of State. The larger democratic form and ideals of our present-day government have evolved through slow and varying processes. In Chapter XIX of Volume IV of *The Outlines of Christianity* we make the point that in a single hurried survey of the writings of some four score philosophers and social theorists one may find approximately fifty different concepts of government. Hegel would call it a spiritual essence. Lilienfeld, Schäffle, Spencer, and others might call it the trend of the social organism. Cole would refer to it as a unique entity, while Duguit would label it purposive association. And other theories include the concepts of a coercive institution, a social organism, a psychological organism, a means of defense, an aggregation of purposive groups, the supreme human association, the microcosm of the whole human process, the organized control of the minority, the determinate creature of community, the collective policeman, the creature product of social evolution, mutual aid, the voluntary contract, the essence of race struggle, contractual society, the social compact, and the restraint of conflicting interests. Some of these may well be considered briefly in connection with the general evolution of government and the specific influence of Christianity upon theories of government. So, too, the forms and theories of the state have constituted a notable and varied miscellany. In different places and periods they have embraced monarchy, aristocracy, democracy, the democratic republic, the attempt at pure democracy; forms of bureaucracy, absolutism, expansionism, imperialism, oligarchy, plutocracy, theocracy, physiocracy, clericalism, militarism, sovietism, and the like; theories of the federal state, the city state, the world state; the

tyranny of the individual, the tyranny of the crowd; various concepts of sovereignty, including personal sovereignty, class sovereignty, mass sovereignty, property sovereignty, rational or intellectual sovereignty. Similarly, theories of liberty have been set forth to account for civil liberty, fiscal liberty, personal liberty, racial or national liberty, international political liberty. James Bryce listed four kinds: civil liberty, or the exemption from control in respect of person and property; religious liberty, or the exemption from control of religious opinions and practices; political liberty, or the participation of the citizen in government of the community; and individual liberty, or the exemption from control in respect of things not directly related to the welfare of the community as a whole.

Philosophical Speculations. These references to concepts and forms of government are given only to indicate something of the scope of political theory and the complexity of its development. Such a brief list does not, of course, attempt to enumerate technical political theories or to include the purely philosophical speculations. There are a number of the latter, including conflicting speculations that relate to idealism, naturalism, pragmatism, or those of monism and pluralism, moralism, and nonmoralism, as well as to the purely theoretical aspects of aristocracy versus democracy. There are also the legalistic theories centering upon jurisprudence. There are the proletarian political theories, enumerated by Professor Douglass—collectivism, anarchism, syndicalism, guild socialism, consumers' coöperation, agrarian distribution, the single tax, and bolshevism. There are also the contributions of the newer social psychology to political theory, as well as those of anthropology and varied racial and ethnic knowledge. Most of these are recent in their manifestation and serve to corroborate the present indications that political theory is still forming, with manifold branches of influence difficult to isolate completely. They will appear in true perspective, however, if placed alongside the earlier history of ideas of the state and government.

Progress of Popular Government. What have been the influences making for progress in popular government in the modern world, and especially since the Reformation? To what extent has each of these been effective? What are the new forces or

causes affecting modern political theory and practice? Bryce gives four causes of the progress of popular government since its obscure Italian beginnings. The first is the influence of religious ideas; the second is discontent with oligarchic misgovernment; the third is social and political conditions favoring equality; the fourth is abstract theory. The question may well be raised as to whether or not a fifth cause could be found in the modern crises that have followed the World War, with their world-wide social change and upheaval. Professor Merriam, in his discussion of recent tendencies in political thought, lists three outstanding social features of this era. These are the further development of industrialism and urbanism, the new contacts of diverse races or nationalities, and the rise of feminism. From present indications it would seem that there is a fourth outstanding element, observable in that feature of the popular controversy over religion and evolution which manifests a tendency toward the domination of government by religious forces. How destructive this influence will be must depend, as it has depended in the past, upon the degree to which the religious forces become narrow, intolerant, and superstitious, or the degree to which the elements of true Christianity come to be applied to all the institutions and forces enumerated and thus indirectly to influence the state for good.

Government and Democracy. For the purpose of this volume the general student will not need to go much into detail concerning the abstract theories of government, the historical conditions that roused the world's protest against oligarchic misgovernment, or the influence of religion upon the development of government. He is, however, much interested in the third element, namely, the social and political conditions which favor equality. This in general may be comprehended under the broad name of democracy. And since both the spirit and form of democracy can best be attained through the institution of government, with its other supporting institutions, we may select for our problem study in social government the field of democracy. The definitions and concepts of democracy represent a wide range of thought and expression. They stimulate further thought and study in the history and principles underlying our American civilization. They raise questions, state observations, point out contrasts, resolve conflicts, point ideals, set limitations. The "story" of democracy as thus

discovered and told by the propounders of these views is, furthermore, a representative story, reflecting largely the modes of our literature and the diverse personalities of a host of those who study and of those who give expression to their findings. Scarcely less interesting and important are those other expressions which indicate the dangers and limitations of a democracy. "Democracy will stand the test," if such and such conditions are met. "Democracy will fail," if such and such things are not done. "Can democracy pass successfully through the crises that are arising?" "Is democracy possible anyway?" "How long will our present system last?" "What are the next steps?" "Has the World War contributed to the strengthening of democratic ideas, as was at first thought, or has it raised questions not hitherto propounded?" "What has the working out of international problems added to the technique and form of the greater democracy?" "What have the findings of the intelligence tests contributed, if anything?" "Can leadership overcome the unenlightened tendencies of the mass mind?" "Can politics become the 'noblest of the sciences'?" "Must we hand democracy over to the invisible empire?" These and many other inquiries are important in any consideration of practical programs of work as well as of the theoretical bases of democracy.

Neglected Factors. In most of the discussions and inquiries concerning democracy the two commonly accepted ideas of democracy are apparent. The one represents an objective, a state of affairs, a condition of equal opportunity and justice, a philosophy, or a religion even, in which men everywhere may find justice and growth and happiness through modes of life which give freedom. The other represents the democratic form of government through which such objectives may be attained. Both are essential. But it would seem that there are two factors hitherto largely neglected, which contribute to imperfections in the actual working out of democratic ideas. These factors operate both in the philosophical aspects and in practical government. The first is the disregard of the organic and structural fact that people are unequal and that there are unequal places in society. Although democracy professes to offer equal opportunity to all individuals, it imposes great inequalities by its refusal to recognize the vast inequalities in all nature and nurture and in the complex function-

ing of present-day civilization. This will be illustrated later. In the second place, the tendency is all too prevalent to consider democracy as merely a matter of political opportunity and equality, whereas democracy, as a mode of justice and social progress, must be as broad as life itself. It seems necessary, therefore, to define a comprehensive democracy and to work out a social organization through which such an adequate democracy may be made effective in the unequal places and to the unequal folk, at the same time that it tends to reduce constantly the ratio of inequality.

The Unequal Places. This problem of the unequal places and the unequal folk may be illustrated in scores of instances throughout our American life. What this fact of inequality and difference in characteristics as a law of nature may mean in practical programs will be seen later. The fault is not with society nor with growing America nor with a special section of the country, but with the inability or the lack of disposition to have governmental and community service conform to facts and keep pace with inevitable progress. In past generations it was a natural assumption that everywhere inequality of opportunity and failure to receive measured justice were inevitable accompaniments of such differences and inequalities in nature and nurture as life bestows upon all individuals. The newer ideals of American democracy were set forth in opposition to this theory and practice. And yet the question is continuously arising as to whether these ideals have reached anything like their expected realization. Such ideals must necessarily be without form and void unless philosophy and organization alike go hand in hand in working out comprehensive programs and perfected steps through which they may be interpreted and enacted for all the people in whatever areas and in whatever condition. There emanate from our national and state capitals adequate laws, let us say, for the enforcement of compulsory school attendance, designed to assist in giving all children equal opportunity for education and development. But if there be remote areas in which neglected groups are not even aware of such laws; in which they do not and cannot know the meaning of education and legislation; in which educational facilities at their best are far below the minimum facilities of other areas; or in which social surroundings and inheritance are such as to make impossible the realization of stated ideals of equality of opportu-

nity; the attempt to enforce such laws but engenders a bitter minority, honestly and pathetically wondering what it is all about. Other similar instances need only be cited to illustrate the case. It is true in the treatment of crime and criminals; of poverty and dependency and ignorance; in isolated rural areas and in congested city populations; in race groups and foreign elements which are now being added to the nation; in race groups already in the population; and it is true wherever there is not a tempering balance between agriculture and commerce, capital and labor, big business and community life, town and country, the local and central governments, the people and leaders, extremes and means.

The Unequal Minorities. Suppose then that such minorities in the unequal places tend to persist, both in numbers and in the inequality of democratic services which they receive; and further that they tend to increase in numbers until they become possible majorities or possible balances of power: it would seem only just to assume that the ideals of democratic government were not being made effective. This is true for two reasons: it is true because the very principles of democracy are being violated; but it is true further because the machinery of government is failing to function, and in proportion as such a minority becomes, either in numbers or influence, a majority, enlightened government is overthrown and we begin over again the cycle of the ages. The same principle applies in lesser degrees of failure. In state and local governments, as well as in larger national units, the whole morale and patriotic tone of the people must be conditioned upon the degree and extent to which democratic ideals are uniformly interpreted and enacted to all the people. Let the community and government fail in this and there arise all sorts of pathological conditions to undermine the progress and service of democracy: invisible government; unenlightened leadership; mass-minded demagogy; race conflicts; complainings of unlettered groups; the confusion of religion and government; the tyranny of specially favored groups; the bitterness of neglected classes; and others the mention of which offers a self-evident challenge to effective democracy.

Democracy Not Political Only. What is needed, of course, is not simply subjective theorizing but essential facts and broad bases upon which objective programs may be based. Too often both the philosophy of democracy and the machinery through

which its ideals are to be attained are conceived as merely political. It seems clear that such a supposition, if not already discarded, is well on the way to being transcended by broader social conceptions. And in this discussion it is understood that the technique and history of political theory and of the organization of government are special themes whose scholarly development consists perfectly with ideals here set forth. That is to say, political democracy is only a part of the whole, and even that part can be attained only through the working out of its allied aspects. To seek to offer political equality, at the same time to urge the rightness of enforced arbitrary standards of social opportunity for adults whose whole past heritage, family life, childhood development have been woefully unequal and deficient is to offer a poor substitute for normal social life. To secure only a partial representative share in government through the ballot for those whose lives have been and are handicapped or broken through unequal struggles in industry is to offer a poor substitute for democracy. To violate, through intolerance and persecution or through constant denominational strife, the original American principle of freedom to worship after the dictates of one's own conscience even though political activity at the polls be unimpeded, would be going backward and not forward. To offer, as a substitute for democratic government, a centralized bureaucratic service, uninformed and unsympathetic; or a dictation by an intellectual aristocracy; or unlimited power wielded by any class group; or a régime of "super legislation" and censorship, is un-American and violates the democratic principle of community participation in government. On the other hand, to offer complete freedom of leadership and dominant representation to individuals and groups uneducated in the standards and structure of democracy, simply because they have the political right and without adequate efforts to instruct them, is to defeat the very ends of democracy. And so for its other aspects. The important fact is that democracy is as many-sided as life and that to attain it there must be developed not only a social philosophy but a social organization adequate for life.

A Sixfold Democracy. For the purposes of this discussion it is suggested that a sixfold democracy be interpreted in terms of the six major social institutions, previously used as types, through which the individual may be developed and rendered

justice and equal opportunity. These institutions, stated in dual terms of local form and generic value, are: *The home and family; the school and education, the church and religion; the state and government; industry and work;* and *community and association.* The sixfold democracy will therefore be: *organic, educational, religious, political, industrial, social.* It seems clear that each and all of these aspects of democracy are essential. Industrial democracy can no more be taken for the whole system than can work be interpreted to be the whole of life. Religious freedom will be worth little if organic democracy be not safeguarded so that children may be born well, grow in health, develop in mind and stature; if mothers and wives in isolated or congested areas must perform hard labor unequally divided between men and women. The great American boast that men may rise from simple beginnings to leadership in all walks of life will amount to little if communities may poison youth with vice and crime or injustice in the courts. Freedom to go to school or compulsory attendance laws are pitifully weak in comparison with an effective family case service which will instruct in the values of education and the desire to receive it. Labor proclamations and agitations for industrial democracy are worth little if the basic principles of coöperation, of understanding, and of mutual values are ignored. Further illustrations of the value of such a sixfold division of the subject will be found in the discussions of the separate parts which follow.

Organic Democracy. In seeking to render equality of opportunity to individuals and groups everywhere, what vast mistakes have been made because of failure to recognize facts that relate to the organic bases of life and society! The whole problem of "equality" must be interpreted anew to do away with many of its sentimental and arbitrary concepts. Facts of race, of sex, of inheritance, of intellectual and moral deficiencies; of eugenics, of age, of social accidents, and others loom large in the sum total of efforts toward democracy. In general this phase of democracy is concerned with the home and family and with the biological and social heritage with which the individual begins life. It seems clear that democracy would fall far short of its application if it awaits the coming of age of individuals to offer them political equality and to demand from them an equal degree of conformity to social regulations, while at the same time it neglects child

welfare and social service in the interests of those upon whom normal development depends. It seems very clear that the mode of equality for men and women must be conditioned by standards, not necessarily identical on even similar, but based on equal opportunities adapted to the natures of the two sexes. To require, expect, or enforce always the same standards in arbitrary fashion for members of different races, or for peoples in different stages of adaptation to our customs, is to beg the question. There is nothing to be gained through the substitution of sentimentality for facts. Similar adjustments may be made in the case of those who are uneducated or whose social deficiencies require them to be placed in a separate classification. The fine thing about such a concept is that it extends greater opportunity—not less—to all those who need the upbuilding of better organic bases upon which to place equality of opportunity and justice; and that the service is not for one generation only, but for many. It may well be affirmed that the later social and political stages of democracy will always be impossible of achievement if the groundwork of organic and structural conditions be ignored in theory and neglected in fact.

Democracy and "Noöcracy." There are two aspects of our educational democracy which will be mentioned here. The first has to do with the usual equality of opportunity for education —a standard claim of our American democracy. It is not the purpose of this note to discuss to what extent all the children have such an equal opportunity. Many factors enter to make the ideal ineffective—rural areas, poor schools, poverty and thriftlessness, race problems, child labor, ignorance and limited experience, and others. But it would not be stating the case too strongly to affirm that the very groundwork of an enduring democracy must be based upon an educated and enlightened citizenship and leadership. Certainly educational democracy must underlie and precede political democracy. There are, however, other ways in which we are in danger of failing in this second aspect of democracy. One of them needs especially to be mentioned. It is the danger that lies in the rule of the self-appointed intellectuals whose arbitrary, isolated, and specialized training is mistaken for comprehensive education. There is also danger in the "pure scientist" or the "pure experimentalist" who mistakes his learning and his

great ability to discover facts for an equal ability to enact practical programs of policy and polity. We have already urged the absolute necessity of education; we affirm that the mental tests have been of great assistance in determining qualifications and in pointing directions. We wish now to affirm that certain results of the mental tests have indicated a very great probability that if carried out to their fullest possibilities, by many of those who administer them, they would not only undermine the principle of representative democracy, but would soon produce a race of people unable to maintain the race with posterity of strong mental, physical, and intellectual power. If the future of a great people depends, as it does, upon strong stocks, with potential for intellectual vigor and the ability to reproduce strong stocks, or as Professor Giddings puts it, upon "natural superiors who maintain a high birth rate," tests for survival will have to be based upon more than the measurement of only a certain kind of experience and reaction; and the tests will have to be given by those whose training, experience, time, and facilities are such as to take into consideration organic factors, including both biological and social inheritance.

Working Out Democracy's Problems. The task of social science and of government, if the above general premises are correct, is one of harmonizing the various institutions and human elements into a composite democracy. Keeping in mind again the institutional aspects of coöperation, what types of problems may the social worker, or the public service employee, help government to work out? What are the problems of democracy, of social justice, of equal opportunity for the development of every individual, as they relate to the home and family, to social inheritance, to individual differences? Are the following typical?

1. The rights and opportunities of children, with varied and intricate aspects underlying the very foundations of the race.
2. The rights and opportunities of women—mothers, wives, daughters—in the home, in industry, in social relationship.
3. The rights and opportunities involved in the stability of the family, with its problems of homes, of housing, and domestic relationships.
4. The rights and opportunities of the physically and mentally deficient, with unequal situations on every hand.

5. The rights and opportunities of races and immigrant peoples with their abounding organic differences.

Is democracy conceivable so long as extreme maladjustments remain here? Does democracy need the social worker in the general tasks of child welfare, or family case work, or juvenile court, or mothers' aid, or courts of domestic relations, or psychiatric clinics, or vocational adjustments?

Educational Democracy. If the school is the central institution through which the wisdom and experience of the race are handed down, ought not all individuals alike, in so far as organic inheritance permits, to benefit by such experience and wisdom to the end that unequal opportunities may be minimized? Is democracy concerned with:

1. The problem of compulsory school attendance with its vast opportunity for family case work and guidance?
2. The problem of rural schools and city schools with their real dangers of inequality in social development?
3. The problem of special classes of retarded or exceptionally bright children needing special attention?
4. The problem of correlating the school with home and industry and of utilizing the social studies?
5. The problem of recreation and of the school as a social center?

In any adequate program of education for democracy or of democratic education, are the methods of the trained social worker needed for the compulsory attendance officer, for the visiting teacher, for the school nurse, for the extension worker, for the psychopathologist, for the community organizer, for the leader of isolated groups?

Religion and Democracy. Are the church and religious forces interested in the type of emphasis which the late Viscount Bryce used to place upon Christianity in the field of democratic citizenship? Or the evolution of law and morals as pointed out by Dean Pound? Are the following of any importance in the attainment of the ends of democracy?

1. The concern for the spiritual rejuvenation and development of people in a day when renaissance is a desperate need.
2. The concern for the spiritual freedom, individual liberty, and folk

values in the life of men and women everywhere desiring "above all else to be free" from unjust restraints and from fear.

3. The concern in the face of a growing intolerance which magnifies the nonessential, unchristian, and class-promoting aspects of religion, and the perversion of religious form and doctrine.

4. The concern for the development of a better social ethics, of a stronger morality, of the essential character values in human association, of religious loyalty as the basis for social and political salvation.

5. The concern for the spread of the social gospel, of social service in its best meaning, of community spirit and of the essence of democratic neighborliness.

Can the spirit and method of social work contribute to the socio-religious concerns that are everywhere essential to sound democratic structure?

Political Democracy. Does the history of Utopian thought, or the failures of idealistic dreams of social betterment and democratic government, suggest anything of importance to modern leaders seeking solutions for puzzling complications? Has the age-long search after principles, methods, and agencies through which political organization might bring about social control and human justice resulted in much that can be used in perfecting democratic government? Do failures and neglected "last steps" mean anything? Can democracy attain its goals without:

1. Social justice approximated in the unequal places and among the unequal folk, brought about by the development of proper laws and technique of government?

2. The evolution of government which renders social services as well as perfecting political organization?

3. The promotion of public welfare through definite organization for the care and supervision of the socially deficient?

4. Citizen participation in government, education in citizenship and politics, sane Americanization programs?

5. A trained leadership for public service?

Does the modern program relating to social work and government promise anything of interest and value in the consideration of the complex problems of modern democracy? Have the social workers anything to offer which has not been offered before in the process of socializing governmental services? Rather, have they not much to offer?

Industrial Democracy. Have the gains of labor within the last fifty years had any bearing upon the problems of democracy? Is the factor brought about by the industrial revolution fundamental in the processes of democracy? Is "industrial democracy" all of the democratic process or one of the important concepts and means for the attainment of the whole? Is the future readjustment of life and labor as between capital and labor—and therefore between various groups that make up a democracy—dependent upon the proper working out of conditions relating to:

1. Child labor and conditions under which the youth of the land may work?
2. The labor of women and the conditions under which they may work and "carry on" at home in the keeping together of the family?
3. Workmen's compensation and the conditions under which men work in the industries?
4. An equitable adjustment in the distribution of the earnings of labor and capital?
5. An education of employee and employer in the larger facts of social coöperation such as will bring about mutual sympathy and understanding?

To answer the question whether social work contributes to these ends is almost to repeat the story of the progress of the last few decades. Can social work now help in the "balancing" process in which statesmanship of the highest order, working with facts and sound principles, is needed above all else?

The Community and Democracy. Finally, what is the relation of the community itself to the whole democratic process? Is the community, in some sense, synonymous with the problems of democracy? What is the relation of community to government? Is the trend toward local government, conceived as the willing responsibility of each community in underwriting its part of social justice for the nation as a whole,—is this trend in any way bound up with the objectives of democracy? Is democracy dependent upon:

1. Community organization with its various opportunities and obligations?
2. The use of leisure time and the development of community social resources?
3. The broader education of all citizens in the arts of government and culture?

4. The amelioration of conditions relating to the under-privileged groups and those tending to be socially deficient?

5. Successful efforts toward the elimination of the unsocial and the antisocial groups in society?

Are these important in the programs of the social worker? Are the methods of social work essential in the evolution of such community processes? Is there any substitute for some of the essentials of social work in the building up of adequate community services? Can the social worker do other than to work hard, abide in patience, and look forward with confidence, but not with too much haste?

The Basis of Government. Here then, in the dream of comprehensive democracy, are found the simple ideals and principles of our government. The old conflict between the two sorts of governments has been fought out and won. The one theory of government held that the sole excuse for the existence of citizens was his service to the state—a superorganization of driving power. The other theory held that the state existed solely for its institutional power to serve mankind and that it has assumed its present form because of generations of experience in which such organization has proved to be essential for the welfare of all the people. The victory of the democratic over the despotic form of government has set the standard of our modern government. The basis of statesmanship is found in the measure of service to be rendered; and the basis of citizenship is found in the spirit of coöperative service. Government is not some formal, objective, far-distant, all-ruling Leviathan which people, who ought to be citizens unafraid, look upon with fear or dread, as some great power existing to restrain their liberties and energies. On the contrary government is meant to give added freedom and development through adequate protection and ample social services. Of course it must have its form, and it must constitute authority—authority vested in certain men and agencies by the citizens themselves. And the perfection of the form of government is a challenge to the science of politics, just as the final measure of good government will be the measure of good citizenship, whose composite goal is the welfare of the people. Training in the profession of citizenship and service, therefore, becomes the reasonable prerequisite to the ballot; and, conversely, the ballot is not infrequently the most effective means

of bringing about reform, calling the attention of the public to important policies, and sometimes of creating public sentiment. The ballot may therefore be responsible for the measures necessary not only for social welfare, but for the training of the people in the essentials of citizenship.

The Viewpoint of the Citizen. The first part of this chapter dealt with some of the theories of state and government and indicated to the student fields for advanced study if he wishes to specialize in political science. Something of the philosophical background of government and the influence of Christianity upon our present democratic form of government were also discussed. We have summarized above some of the problems of government and democracy from the viewpoint of the social worker or the official in public service. There yet remains the viewpoint of the citizen, for the government is his, and in the aggregate he is the government. Professor Marshall speaks of the nation as "a multiplier of man's powers by enlarging his coöperation." He explains democracy as "a multiplier of man's powers by developing the individual." Thus we are interested not only in how governments have arisen but also what their problems are and how the citizen may coöperate in working them out. This is, indeed, perhaps from the educational viewpoint, the central theme of importance for the student of social problems. We have already called attention to the more than 200 volumes on citizenship which have been published in the last decade. To these the student may go for study as complete as he wishes. In the next chapter, however, we shall consider some phases of government in relation to the citizen and the community.

FOR FURTHER STUDY

For Information

1. What are some of the concepts of government?
2. What were Bryce's four causes of the progress of popular government?
3. What are two commonly accepted ideas of democracy?
4. Give a sixfold classification of democracy.
5. What do you consider some of the chief problems of democracy?

For Stimulating Thought

6. Explain why the state may be called a key institution.
7. What are some of the challenges to effective democracy among the American people?
8. To what extent have denominational strife and conflicts between science and religion violated the American principle of freedom of worship?
9. Are the failures in the application of democratic principles sufficient to warrant discouragement or the abolishment of a democratic form of government?
10. Explain the meaning of the phrase, "Making democracy effective in the unequal places."

For Research and Creative Writing

11. Make case studies showing the difficulty of an application of democratic principles in the *unequal places*.
12. Write a paper on the contributions of sociology to political science.
13. Make a study of voting in a given community—men, women, foreign-born, negroes.
14. Trace the influence of Christianity upon government.
15. Illustrate by cases the bearing of individual and social differences upon the practical applications of democracy.

For Practical Application

16. What are some of the educational problems with which democracy is concerned?
17. Point out ways of avoiding conflict between county and city governments.
18. Write the story of "the forgotten man" or woman in any aspect of American life.
19. Outline a practical course in community civics.
20. Make a list of superficial legislative acts.

For Continuity of Effort

21. What city programs attempt to enlist the interests of the people in governmental problems?
22. What attempts are being made toward education for political activity? List some new schools for training in citizenship.

23. Make a list of courses given in government and citizenship for college or university.
24. From the bibliography in the back of the book, arrange a bibliography on citizenship.
25. Illustrate the advantages or disadvantages of the city-manager plan of government.

For Effective Reading

26. For special study: Dealey's *State and Government*, Ross' *Roads to Social Peace*, White's *Some Cycles of Cathay*, Barnes' *Sociology and Political Theory*, Merriam's *Political Theories*.
27. For sampling and exhaustive reading: Babbitt, Benett, Bonn, Bryce, Buchan, Bucholz, Carpenter, Cleveland, Hearnshaw, Ingrahan, Ireland, Krabbe, Oppenheimer, Penman, Smith, T. B., Wilde.

CHAPTER XXIV

COMMUNITY AND GOVERNMENT

An Early Community Pact. Perhaps there is no more appropriate way of beginning this discussion of the relation of community to government than with the example of a community pact entered into a little more than 300 years ago, which is the archetype of all our American democracy and free institutions. For the Mayflower compact not only represents an ideal of a community of men and women coming together for certain very definite and inclusive purposes of association and welfare, but also it is appropriate to the plans and purposes of this discussion of community and government, in that it reveals the true basis and method of community and government working together. The Mayflower compact may well serve also as a fitting conclusion and challenge to present-day community work.

In the name of God, Amen. Doe by these presents solemnly and mutually, in ye presence of God and one of another, covenant and combine ourselves together in a Civil body politick for our better ordering and preservation and furthermore of yet ends aforesaid and By Verture Hearof do enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal laws, ordnances, Acts, constitutions and offices from time to time as shall be thought most meete and convenient for ye general goode of ye colonie. Unto which we promise a due submission and obedience.

Community and Government. Just as in the beginning of our government, expressed in the Mayflower compact and a year earlier in the "General Assembly" at James City in Virginia, community and government were inseparably inked together so in our present-day efforts to give renewed energy and meaning to democracy we must find in community and government the hope of greater achievement. Group self-government in the community is but the modern result of socially-minded citizens organizing for "better ordering and preservation." For government in a democracy is of the citizens themselves, here and now in their

midst, and not something apart and mystical. As the government is, so is the service of the citizen. The individual in the community may wrongly think he can separate himself from his government; but if there be poor government, whether in health, education, protection, convenience, or any other respect, the citizen suffers. And poor government in the community, conversely, can be corrected only by the citizens themselves. Community organization, therefore, becomes one of the chief modes of good government.

Community and Democracy. The same is true of democracy itself. A great America composed of thousands of communities must, of a necessity, render its democracy through its communities. To quote Follett, "The technique of democracy is group organization." And Justice Louis D. Brandeis expresses a similar sentiment when he affirms that "the great America for which we long is unattainable unless that individuality of communities becomes far more highly developed and becomes a common American phenomenon. For a century our growth has come through national expansion and the increase of the functions of the federal government. The growth of the future—at least of the immediate future—must be in quality and spiritual value. And that can come only through the concentrated, intensified strivings of smaller groups. The field for the special effort should now be the state, the city, the village. . . . If ideals are developed locally the national ones will come pretty near taking care of themselves." One may test the efficacy of democracy simply by observing the institutional services which it renders to the citizen in his community, in his home, in his school, in his work. If only our growing citizens can realize the bigness of the task ahead—to develop the community, democracy of the future, based upon the ideals of national government and coördinated by the central organization of states and nation!

The Community and the School. Even the school, with its redirected programs for the teaching of active citizenship, finds the community, in the long run, its arbiter. For the school can be no more democratic than the community in whose image it is fashioned and the teachers whose training the community fosters; nor can the quality of its democratic education be much different from that of the community responsible for its personnel and government. This conviction has led Professor Hart to conclude

that "the democratic problem in education is not primarily a problem of training children; it is the problem of making a community within which children cannot help growing up to be democratic, intelligent, disciplined to freedom, reverent of the goods of life, and eager to share in the task of the age." For the school and education, more than any other force perhaps, can make and remake the community after the fashion of socially-minded, self-governing and mutually participating groups. The school can offer its instruction and its plant for the centering of community activities and for the promotion of community knowledge and spirit. The school can teach its citizenship with these ideals in view and upon the actual working basis of community projects and community interest. The teachers and administrative officials themselves will become better grounded in the fundamentals of local and state government and will thereby become better teachers and better officials.

A Basis of Citizenship. The community, therefore, becomes for the school the greatest laboratory of citizenship. While it is true that the school itself may become a little democracy, utilizing its organization and its functions in the promotion and practice of self-government, the real laboratory for democracy must be in the community. Here are all the institutional modes of life as expressed in the home, the school, the church, the state, and industry or work. Here are the scores of "little states" themselves. Here are opportunities for organic democracy, political democracy, and educational democracy. Here are citizens in the making and older citizens in the remaking. Here are problems of association and recreation; of government and politics; of employment and leisure; and of all the other human interests. When, therefore, the school can know its community and its citizens, and when the community can know its school and the school's work, new forces will have been released for the bringing up of well-trained citizens for the future.

The Community an Institution. It must be very clear, therefore, that the community is an institution. For some time we have considered only four major institutions that make for civilization and social progress—the home, the school, the church, and the state or government. To these we have now added community and industry. If one wishes to test the power and significance of the

community as an institution he need but inquire into the possibilities of the family without community support; or of the school, or government, or of the church where the community is divided; or of conditions of labor where the community takes no thought for the welfare of its workers. Or, again, what of the opportunities and obligations of play and recreation; of general social life and pleasurable association; of voluntary organizations and benevolent societies; and of the many forms of association not included in the other institutional modes of life? For almost unlimited good or evil have been many of the community's contributions or neglects in the field of its own responsibility to its growing citizens. But even as the community must contribute to its fellow-institutions, so must the home, the school, government, the church, and industry contribute their utmost to making the community a better place in which to live. This correlation of the institutions is one of the finer tests of communal democracy.

The Evolution of the Community. If there were further doubt as to the meaning of community it would be necessary only to trace its development and influence in the past, to note its present molding of democracy, and to look forward to its growing power in local, national, and international development. The history of peoples, of course, begins with the family; from the family grew, through association and coöperation in community efforts, the phratry, the gens, the clan, the tribe, the confederation, the nation, the empire. These organizations arose out of the imperative need of community coöperation for purposes of defense, subsistence, worship, special projects, and others. Association and the community of effort have been the beginning and the mode of survival. Where no community coöperation could be effected survival was barely possible; community, therefore, becomes in its spirit and form a fundamental in the development of all society and government. The spirit of community is essential. The American nation had not realized, prior to the World War, to what extent it was a community of communities; the aggregate of community organization and effort during the war made the total national power. And if one looks to the future, to possibilities of the international mind and international relations, it is very clear that community of interests and organization must be the only mode of relationship. The larger communities of fellowship,

learning, labor—and others—will contribute to whatever technique may be discovered that will make for world peace and brotherhood. The school, in its promotion of community citizenship, draws on its age-old resources and is therefore working in harmony with its fundamental history and principles.

The Individual and Community Inseparable. It is very clear, also, from all the above viewpoints, that the individual good is inseparably bound up in the community. If the aim of all our democracy and social progress be the highest possible development of the individual, through his social personality and relationship, it will be seen that the community's relation to the individual is fundamental. There have been individuals and families who believed that they were independent of the rest of the community; that they could live their own lives heedless of the needs and limitations of the community. Came the day when disease or vice or poverty which they and the rest of the community had allowed to permeate the group disproved their theory. There have been families who held that no responsibility was theirs toward other families or toward the community's care of its members. And the day has come when disease or vice, permitted by them in the community, has entered the home and taken away all that was dearest in their lives and purposes. No individual or family can remain isolated from the community, and it becomes, therefore, not only a duty but a privilege and honor for every individual and every family to join hands in making the community a noble example of democratic opportunity. Even as in the history of the community, so to-day the individuals and groups who do not coöperate in communal democracy scarcely survive in the long run.

Local Communities Interrelated. Of special importance, and illustrative also of the task of democracy, is the close interrelationship of community with community. Evidence of this is abundant. It is clearly manifest in the school, where one community, having neglected its duty to the child, sends it on to another community; it is evident in the counties, where one county, having neglected its opportunities for rendering health and education service to its children, turns them over as burdens to another county. It is evident in the matter of work and morals; in progressive and nonprogressive tendencies; and wherever

communities touch in social relationships. It is very clear, therefore, that each community must find a positive obligation in developing its highest organization and service, and likewise must contribute wherever possible, by example and participation, to the promotion of the highest development of community welfare everywhere. The very basis of uniform citizenship and democracy rests upon uniform community development and services everywhere. The task of every school, therefore, becomes increasingly important as it undertakes the teaching of citizenship and the building of community spirit.

Community Ideals. There are many ideals of community work and association, even as there are many ideals and possibilities in democracy and human aspirations. Some of these may be mentioned as typical. Every community ought to know itself and its citizens. "To know each other well enough to work together and to play together" ought to be a reasonable standard. Do we know each other so well? Would we not understand each other better and eliminate much of the friction in working together if we knew each other better? Is not this an attainable ideal under the plan of community organization? The community will have other ideals in view. Sometimes the beautification of town and surrounding neighborhood is foremost; sometimes an economic ideal needs to be worked out; sometimes it is the problem of schools and teachers; sometimes it is the matter of streets, roads, health, and the general welfare. Sometimes it is the community spirit or recreation that predominates; and sometimes the prevailing interest is in local government itself, through which the other ideals are to be promoted.

The Community at Work. But whatever the ideals and the specific purposes for the time being, the community finds itself facing many tasks of importance. The community at work becomes an inspiration to democracy. And while there are many modes and methods of work, the ultimate goal will be as nearly complete and efficient *community organization* as possible. Community organization is discussed again in Chapter XXX. Its form will be conditioned by the nature of the community, the purpose involved, and the resources available. Sometimes the *community center* claims a large part of the organized efforts of the community and combines with the school to make a clearing

house for community activities from voting to play. Sometimes there is a general *civic center* which joins with schools and other institutions. Sometimes the churches contribute to organized community work. Sometimes the larger part of community work is done by the *community club*. Sometimes there are various organizations such as the woman's club, civic associations, chambers of commerce, and others. Sometimes community activities take the form of *community fairs* and gatherings, exhibits and clinics, campaigns and projects. And sometimes governmental and semi-governmental coöperation constitutes a large part of community organization, as for instance in a *public welfare* program and the work of home and farm demonstration agents, health officers, school teachers, and officials. Not infrequently much help is given to the local voluntary associations and agencies by national voluntary agencies.

Types of Communities. The nature of work done and the form of organization undertaken, as well as the number and character of the workers themselves, will depend much upon the type of community. It is quite evident that the city will have within its area different types of communities from the widely extended community or from the small town or village. The town will be different from the country community and communities in the cities and villages, and rural districts will differ among themselves. The very boundaries, territory, and distinctive features of communities vary greatly. Sometimes the community is centered around the school; sometimes around the several churches; sometimes around a post office or trading center; sometimes a community may be bounded by its newspaper constituency or by the fixed political or civil divisions of county and district. In the city it may be even a block or ward, while in extreme rural districts the community may be bounded by streams and hills. The city and its problems of community organization have been the subject of much study and planning, and with success. The rural community is now being estimated as one of the most important problems in education and welfare. And this is true. More should be done. Of special importance, however, from the viewpoint of the school is the *small town community*, which combines many features of the country and city. Its possibilities are almost unlimited for good—and sometimes, it seems, for evil!

And, because of its reasonable size, its democratic citizenship, its crowds of merry boys and girls, its present neglect, it is a challenge to the school for the development of the perfect community.

Progress in Democracy and Government. The early years of this century will always remain eloquent with notable records of achievement in democracy and government. Even before the World War the very definite tendencies toward larger ideals of government had brought results of no little value. These achievements consisted not alone in the improved organization and structure of democratic government, but more essentially in the growth of community building through the interest, civic coöperation, and active participation of the common citizen in governmental services. Here were opened up new fields, new visions, new opportunities with practical difficulties and practical results available for the citizen of to-day and to-morrow. In the realms of community building, public service, and patriotism, the citizen of to-day may reach goals unknown to the citizen of yesterday. And to this prewar ideal the war itself furnished great momentum, tending to give it direction and form adequate for later progress and public welfare standards. But then came the great conflict, in which not only the spirit of democracy but also the very form of our government was tried by the fire of the world crisis. Would the spirit and soul of democracy, functioning through our fundamental American institutions, not only preserve its own traditions but blazon forth for the international mind and spirit the great truths of a progressive government, strong enough and big enough to cherish and cultivate the ideals of a people, and at the same time maintain their active, faithful interest in the means and forms of democratic control? Would the machinery of this government, by and for the people, stand up under the test of gigantic struggle and unforeseen emergency, while putting to rout the forces of governments whose ideals and practices would make men into machines?

Woman's New Part in Government. The third great achievement is found in the enactment of the nineteenth amendment to the Federal Constitution of the United States. This amendment, granting to women the right of suffrage, constitutes one of the most definite and positive contributions to the theory and practice of government ever recorded. During the few years since the

Secretary of State certified to the validity of the amendment most citizens have scarcely realized the importance of the step. But here again both the spirit and form of our government are vitally affected. Certain it is that, in spirit, the amendment recognizes the great principles underlying representative government in giving to all the people governed the rights of expression through representative modes of democracy. Democracy has been called the last and best solution of the social problem; the nineteenth amendment may be said to be the latest contribution to the solution of the problem of democracy. And while ranking perhaps as the greatest contribution of modern times, it will nevertheless, for a time, add new difficulties and problems to be worked out in the effort to realize an adequate form for the expression of the ideals of democracy. Certain it is also that the presence of a new body of voters, of a size equal to the former body, will affect the technique and practice of our government in the holding of elections, in the personnel of officials, and in the manner and methods of government operation. All these problems commend themselves to the best efforts not only of the new voters but of the old as well. One may well doubt the efficacy of the patriotism of citizens who will not recognize the tremendous meaning of the new movement and set themselves wisely and seriously to the tasks ahead.

Viewpoints of the Community and the Citizen. The community as an essential part of government implies a general civic coöperation, some of which is voluntary and some governmental. In this there are always certain sound and fundamental viewpoints, motives, and objectives of participation which should give direction to progress. These viewpoints are stated as follows:

That the government is really a government of the people and that people are citizens and citizens people, but that the quality of government is conditioned by the knowledge and coöperation of its people citizens.

That no community government can meet community needs adequately without civic coöperation.

That the average efficient community government will welcome citizen aid and coöperation offered in the spirit of constructive citizenship.

And that further, on the other hand, the life of the average efficient citizen is not and cannot be complete without some knowledge of community needs and some participation in community service.

The average efficient citizen welcomes, or should welcome, the opportunity to aid and coöperate with his official government.

But that knowledge of a community government and community needs is absolutely the minimum essential for community service; without such knowledge, neither the fact nor spirit of coöperation may become reality.

Viewpoint of Woman's Part. With reference, also, to the newer problem of woman's participation in government, we may consider similarly further viewpoints, motives, and objectives:

Women are now formally declared citizens with the franchise, and are active participants in both official and voluntary forms of citizenship. A privilege brings a concurrent duty; a long-looked for opportunity brings an accompanying obligation.

The woman citizen will, therefore, welcome the opportunity to participate in government and will be willing to undertake the difficult, as well as the easy tasks of citizenship, and will therefore welcome the opportunity to learn of community government and needs.

The woman citizen, further, undoubtedly possesses the ability and power to contribute certain distinctive qualities and actions to government through her mental acumen, her imaginative turn of mind, and her peculiar and instinctive special interests in the life of the community.

General Motives and Objectives. Among the motives, therefore, upon which the great body of voters may base their immediate action, are the fulfillment of the conditions of citizenship and the situations involved in the above statements. There may be, however, numerous and commendable viewpoints of different citizens; and varied interests and aspects of citizenship may appeal to the different individuals. The richness of many interests and varying viewpoints will but contribute to the value of work done and the sureness of success in the future. These other viewpoints may be:

Patriotism, or love of community, with its elements of pride and loyalty; the desire to build a more prosperous community; the desire to make a better place in which to live; the desire to make a stronger unit in the total fabric of state and government.

The citizen-stockholder, realizing the responsibility and rights involved in the successful management of the greatest and most important of all corporations, through business methods in government and economy and efficiency in the expenditure of public funds and in the maintenance and promotion of the public welfare.

The social nature, with the enthusiasm, vigor, and other qualities for serving one's fellow man.

The professional social worker, believing that philanthropy and voluntary efforts of citizens ought to be scientifically studied and administered.

The leisure-class citizen, desiring to expend profitably for self and community surplus time and money in the promotion of the public wealth.

Respect for government and organized efforts; respect for law and order and for the personality and rights of others.

The scientific study and surveying of the community and human interests, insuring adequate knowledge for right action.

The correlation and utilization of all institutions, organizations, and forces in the community, through intelligent coöperation.

Better town-and-city-building for the sake of commercial growth and expansion and general economic welfare.

The new education for social efficiency; for the teaching of more civics in the schools; of developing a better and more flexible citizenship; for giving to the public a comprehensive intelligent service.

The larger social ideal, or sociological aim, of developing a better social personality; a better social organization; a more vitalized democracy; in fine, one step toward the maximum social progress and human welfare.

Qualities of American Government. In previous chapters we have discussed something of the spirit of American institutions in its relation to local and international affairs. From the viewpoint of the community and the citizen one of the characteristic traits of America's present problems is that of their difficulty. This will, however, appeal to the citizen as an excellent opportunity to test his ability and his patriotism. He will wish to interpret some of the tasks of the citizen and to see how, through various forms of government, he may work out his problems. In an address delivered before the Daughters of the American Revolution, President Wilson expressed the feeling of joy that "we belong to a country in which the whole business of government is so difficult." Our government is "a universal communication of conviction, the most subtle, delicate and difficult of processes" in which, however, there is not to be found a single opinion that is not of some consequence to the whole; "to be in the great coöperative effort is the most stimulating thing in the world." These points of emphasis—the difficulty, the stimulating qualities, the companionable efforts—are all the more applicable in these days of new labors in the

great coöperative effort of democracy. The present tasks of citizenship, which, after all, are the real tasks of Americanization, call the American woman to contribute her new forces to the constant creation of the ideals of America. There is, too, another quality, constantly emphasized in the previous pages of this book, which is necessary to the achievement of genuine Americanization. Here, again, the expression of President Wilson gives true emphasis: "For it seems to me," he says, "that the peculiarity of patriotism in America is that it is not a mere sentiment. It is an active principle of conduct."

The Political Parties. If the new citizen, searching after the best national service, wishes to learn the practical truths of government and apply them to the common good, a wide field of study and effort is at his hand. He will not only concern himself with the presidential and vice presidential electors; with the study of the forms of the Constitution through which the President, Vice President, the legislative bodies, and the judicial bodies are chosen and function. He will do this and more. He will study the party system and become grounded in the history and policies of the parties and of the problems that have been attacked through the party system rather than through individual or personal effort single-handed. He will do this and more. He will, following the ideals set forth in the preceding chapters on city, county, and state government, search out the fundamental medium of service through which the national government ministers to its citizens and assists them in the ways of better citizenship. The national government, too, is a part of us all, round about us with its power to render the right effective, and with its increasing possibilities for directing and rendering social service to its citizens through coöperation with the units of local government. What are the fundamental divisions of the national service? How do they function? Do they function adequately through well-organized departments and divisions? Are there enough departments to meet the needs of the government to-day with its growing vision of social and economic service? Do the political parties, in the attempt to build great constructive platforms, recognize the importance of the national departments and the careful selection of cabinet members? Will they select candidates who would choose members of the cabinet for their special fitness to interpret and

render the due services to the nation rather than for their political influence alone? The great political conventions, potent with the capacity to become American institutions of unlimited creative force, are but the representatives of the people—the citizens. Do, then, the citizens control these conventions, guaranteeing that they will express the will and choice of the people in their selections? It is not enough to say that the people may reject the candidates of the convention's choice if such candidates are not of their liking; the people must vote for their nominees. Shall not one of the new ideals of American citizenship be, therefore, the magnifying by the conventions of service to the people through the entire governmental organization?

National Service. Most of the larger problems of national and international affairs—those that affect us to-day with such power for good or evil—must be attacked through the channels of the national government departments. War, adjustment of capital and labor, taxation, immigration, ideals of justice, and others, administered in accordance with the best vision of democracy, will send America far on her way toward the perfection of her ideals, with her back resolutely turned from bolshevism or any similar anti-American doctrines. But the people-citizens must keep in close touch with the promotion and enactment of these ideals. Americanization, in this sense of the word, will mean the perfection of our knowledge and citizenship as they function through the great departments of national service that now exist and perhaps others that are to be established in the near future. What are the divisions of labor in the national service as distributed among the ten great departments: The departments of state, of the treasury, of war, of justice, of the navy, of the post-office, of the interior, of agriculture, of commerce, and of labor? In all these will be found the technical avenues through which governmental organization extends to the citizen the protection and promotion of rights and welfare. In proportion as a nation advances through its formal administration of government for political purposes to the larger ideals of political and social service there will be constantly-growing needs of enriching or enlarging the departments of national service.

Public Service and Institutions. What of the tasks of political and social science in the fields of the public health and public

education? Is education, the product of one of the most fundamental of all institutions, simply one of the many "left-overs" of governmental service? Rather is it not organically connected, not only with the necessary services to the people, but also with the very creation of a self-perpetuating citizenship? Is the public health simply a part of war? Shall we wait always for war and famine and pestilence to extend the service of health protection and promotion to the people? We have gloried in the nation's quick grasp of its opportunities to serve its citizens in their economic difficulties in agriculture and commerce and labor. Are health and education less able to offer testimony to the nation's greatness in meeting the technical social needs of its citizens? Of course we value the children of the nation more than we do its farm animals, but are we not mistaken in assuming that the science of government can provide services for the latter and not for the former? In all these larger interests of governmental social service, however, the form of organization to promote the service ought to be understood and appreciated by the informed citizenry. It is doubtful if there is any aspect of the national government less studied and valued than the details of these departments of administration. They must have, in order to become more efficient, the intelligent interest and backing of the people. After all the sentiment and intelligence and action of the citizen must determine the quality and scope of the government's services. There is, then, here a great and hopeful problem of vital Americanization work: to create, foster, and nourish in the people the ideals of coöperative service by the government to the fundamental institutional needs of the nation. The scope and form of governmental services would be determined by careful interpretation of the needs of the fundamental institutions upon which America has been founded—the institutions through which the individual may develop his highest types of liberty and social personality, and at the same time promote the welfare of the nation and society. It is the spirit of America to foster and promote American ideals of institutional life and progress. The government is based upon these ideals and is set to the task of executing the will of the people as they interpret their ideals. One of America's most important problems of government and community is that involved in the city, to which we shall turn in the next chapter.

FOR FURTHER STUDY

For Information

1. What is the significance to democracy of the closer relation of community to government?
2. Describe various types of communities.
3. What are some of the unofficial aspects of the citizen's part in government?
4. What are some of the opportunities of woman's part in government?
5. What are the major departments of the United States government?

For Stimulating Thought

6. Show how the Mayflower compact is representative of the theory of sovereignty.
7. On what basis is community included in the classification of major institutions?
8. Is the individual of the modern city more civic and socially minded than the early rural pioneer? Discuss.
9. What is "international community"?
10. Has woman responded slowly to her new political freedom and participation in government affairs?

For Research and Creative Writing

11. Write up a half dozen cases in which interests of individuals and community conflict.
12. Give concrete cases of the rivalries or coöperation of different communities.
13. Illustrate in brief story form or from literature conflict between sections as set forth in Professor Ross' *Roads to Social Peace*.
14. Select a number of individuals and study their reasons for voting.
15. Enumerate the chief disorganizing forces in a given community.

For Practical Application

16. Describe a county-wide community council.
17. Illustrate from a local community some of the points made by Professor Munro in his *Personality in Politics*.

18. Outline a program for teaching citizenship in the public schools.
19. To what extent is the local community divided into political factions?
20. Should the South remain "solid" democratic? Discuss.

For Continuity of Effort

21. What organizations coöperate to develop in your community education for citizenship?
22. List books on citizenship in the local library.
23. What is a local public school contributing toward training the students for citizenship?
24. What is the National Community Center Association?
25. Outline a program for making party conflict more wholesome.

For Effective Reading

26. *For special study:* Baker-Crothers and Hudnut's *Problems of Citizenship*, Steiner's *Community Organization*, Ross' *Roads to Social Peace*, MacIver's *The Community*, Monroe's *Community Civics*.
27. For sampling and exhaustive reading: Almack, Benion, Brunner, Dinwiddie, Follett, Jackson, Woods, R. A., MacIver, Monroe.

CHAPTER XXV

THE CITY AND SOCIETY

Urbanized Society. The urbanization of civilization constitutes one of the main features of modern times. Alongside the equally epochal industrial processes the growth of cities has tended to work great transformations in society. The city has affected all phases of man's life. The growth of population, the concentration of industries, and the physical location and development of cities have contributed largely to the character of commerce and industry. The city has become a social pattern through which social evolution is carried on. Intellectual life and habits, social life and customs, moral standards and order all evolve out of the city and revolve around it. The death rate, the birth rate, health, and recreation become special problems among congested populations. New communities, new neighborhoods, new ethnic groups, and other classes grow up to make the city the most complex unit of modern society. We are accustomed to speak of the city as the most advanced form of civilization. Likewise, we are accustomed to contrast the city with the country. And the rapid growth of the city and the migration of the people from the rural areas to the urban areas have brought about rural life problems of a distinct type. America, only a few generations ago primarily rural, with rural habits, customs, and economic basis, has now come to be a nation with more than half of its population living in the cities.

Social Conditions in the City. Social conditions in the city are special conditions. They represent much of artificial civilization. They are often admittedly such as to encourage the prevalence of vice, crime, poverty, dependency, and other social evils. Many of these conditions are studied in the recent volume *The Urban Community*, a summary of the proceedings of the 1925 annual American Sociological Society meeting. Robert E. Park attributes the increased crime and vice in the city to the breaking down of local attachments and the displacement of the restraints of the primary group by secondary relationships. The mobility and

heterogeneity of the city population add their influence to the production of a disintegrated social order. The large immigrant element in cities, with their divided loyalties and conflicting *mores* and traditions, do not contribute to a unified social organization. In New York City, says Professor Park, a few years ago there were 270 publications printed in twenty-three different languages. Likewise, in Chicago there were nineteen daily papers published in seven foreign languages. Professor Zorbaugh finds the rooming-houses in which many tenants are socially isolated, a cause of restlessness and loneliness and in many cases crime. Professor Gillin concludes that the greater criminality in the cities is to be explained by six prevailing social conditions. The first is that there are more laws to break in the city than in the country and also that officials are more observant of their duty. A second condition, giving rise to crimes of personal violence, will be found in the more frequent contacts in the city, which give rise to a greater number of irritating situations. Furthermore, the economic motive for crime is greater in the city, where the pressure of poverty is stronger. Crowded living conditions also have their demoralizing influence upon people. Again, the city attracts the professional criminal, for crowded conditions facilitate concealment and escape from the law. In the last place the city has a larger proportion of adults than the country, and since crime is more prevalent among young adults than among those of any other age, the city would be expected to have a greater proportion of criminality.

Mobility in the City. Ernest W. Burgess calls mobility a "pulse of the community." He points to the fact that mobility involves excitement, adventure, thrill, new experience, and stimulation which tend to demoralize the person. "Where mobility is the greatest . . . there develop areas of demoralization, of promiscuity, and of vice." In his studies of the city it was found that areas of juvenile delinquency, boys' gangs, crime, poverty, wife desertion, divorce, abandoned infants, vice, conformed to these conditions. The author translates phases of the mobility of the urban population into numerical terms. In 1921 in New York City the elevated, subway, surface, and electric and steam suburban lines carried a total of more than 2,500,000,000 passengers. In the same year in Chicago there were 338 total annual rides per

capita on the surface and elevated lines. On the steam and electric suburban lines the rides per capita almost doubled between 1915 and 1921. Moreover, the number of automobiles in Illinois increased from 131,140 in 1915 to 833,920 in 1923. The author also measures mobility in terms of increase of contacts. While the increase of Chicago's population during the ten years from 1912 to 1922 was 23.6 per cent, the increase of letters delivered to Chicagoans more than doubled the ratio of increase in population, being 49.6 per cent or from 693,084,196 letters in 1912 to 1,038,007,854 in 1922. In New York in 1912 there were 8.8 telephones per 100 inhabitants, whereas in 1922 there were 19.5 per 100. Furthermore, the number of telephone calls in Chicago increased from 606,131,928 in 1914 to 944,010,586 in 1922, which was an increase of 55.7 per cent, while the population increased only 13.4 per cent during the same period.

The Expansion of the City. Professor Burgess, in *The City*, further studies urban expansion in terms of *extension*, *succession*, and *concentration*. For the most part expansion is thought of in terms of physical growth. Regional and city planning have contributed toward extension of the metropolitan boundaries to include contiguous urban areas. Due to the efforts of the Chicago Regional Planning Association, the metropolitan district has been extended to a radius of fifty miles and embraces 4,000 square miles of territory. Professor Burgess illustrates the process of expansion by a series of concentric circles. In the first or inner circle is the "loop" or the central business district. Surrounding the loop is the area of transition, which is being invaded by business and light manufacturing. The third area is inhabited by workers in industry who desire to live within easy reach of their work. Beyond this is the residential section of high-class apartments and single family dwellings and exclusive residences. Then beyond the city limits comes the commuters' zone, within a half hour or an hour's ride of the central business district. This illustration of the process of expansion shows also the tendency of each zone to grow by expansion and invasion of the next zone, a process which the author calls *succession*. The last phase of the process of expansion is *concentration*. This is the tendency for the converging of economic, cultural, and political life as well as of transportation lines in the central business section or "loop." Professor

Burgess estimates that over a half million people daily enter and leave Chicago's "loop." It was shown by a traffic count that at a rush period at the corner of State and Madison Streets in Chicago's loop "31,000 people an hour, 210,000 men and women in sixteen and one-half hours, passed the southwest corner."

American Urban Population. The urban population of the United States, according to the 1920 Census, was 54,304,603, while the rural population was 51,406,017. Our next chapter will discuss some of the problems and difficulties of the 51,000,000 rural folk with their larger physical scene and more limited opportunities. Our study in this chapter will consider some of the methods of approach to the study of social problems in urban areas, which house more than half of our population, together with a great majority of the foreign-born and their immediate descendants. It will not be the purpose of this chapter to study exhaustively the very large cities, but rather to get a picture of the problems of cities along with an analysis of their structure and relationships. To study New York, which in 1920 had a population of 5,620,048, or Chicago with a population of 2,701,705, would be a specialized task which would require a great deal more time and resources than an elementary course can provide. Even since the 1920 Census the city planning studies promoted in New York and its environs by the Russell Sage Foundation included an area whose population is more than 9,000,000. In each study there must be employed experts of many kinds, such as engineers, geographers, economists, sociologists, city planners, and many others. These will be described more in detail in Chapter XXX, on Social Planning. Our emphasis here will be upon the smaller cities, leaving the larger cities as a specialized field of study and research. The Census classifies people living in communities of over 2,500 in population as urban. This chapter will deal not only with that grouping, but with communities having even less than 2,500 population in so far as they give evidence of growing into cities. And our first task will be to find out what are the problems of the city. What are its essential elements of growth and work? How measure the city?

Measuring the City. In order to approach both the study of the urban community and the measurement of its attainable standards we shall glance at a possible measuring scale:

LOCATION AND POSITION

1. Health, accessibility, economic prosperity—conditions upon which to base municipal program.
2. Location made more healthy by municipal programs.
3. Better accessibility through development of roads and highways.
4. Better economic bases through development of commerce and rural areas.

GENERAL ADMINISTRATION

1. A charter adequate to the social and economic needs.
2. A plan of government which will bring out civic coöperation.
3. The city-manager plan of government preferably.
4. Commission or mayor-council plan.
5. A judicial system, adequate for social justice.
6. An election system, good in plan, good in tradition.

FINANCIAL ORGANIZATION AND METHODS

1. A system of scientific budget-making.
2. A system of accounting, cost, operation, records.
3. A safe plan for financing public improvements.
4. A sound method of assessing and collecting revenues.
5. A system of auditing satisfactory to local and state authorities.
6. Business methods in government.

TOWN PLANNING

1. A fair prospect for health, happiness, and prosperity.
2. A plan for recreational facilities, parks, spaces, playgrounds.
3. A plan for the extension of streets, transportation facilities, terminals.
4. A plan for industrial development and for more or less zoning.
5. A plan for the development of new residence sections, housing for workmen, and for increasing population.
6. A plan for civic and cultural centers, for residence and industry.

SANITATION AND HOUSING

1. Inspection of congested and neglected areas.
2. Sanitary inspection of housing and factories.
3. Disposal of garbage and sewage.
4. The supervision of building and construction.
5. Town-wide plans for cleanliness and filth prevention.
6. Others.

PUBLIC HEALTH

1. A system of medical inspection services.
2. Adequate hospital services, either in or near the town.
3. A system of food, milk, meat inspection services.

4. A system of child welfare services.
5. A system of laboratory services.
6. A statistical service, for publicity and direction.

PUBLIC WELFARE

1. A plan for correlating all relief and assistance.
2. Systematic outdoor relief on a constructive basis.
3. A good system of institutional relief.
4. The supervision of prisons, reformatories, and other institutions.
5. Juvenile court work in accordance with the best standards.
6. Constructive and preventive work and publicity.

PUBLIC SAFETY

1. A good organization of the police system.
2. The regulation and control of traffic and transportation.
3. A good system of apprehending and correcting the offender.
4. An adequate system of fire protection.
5. Substantial plans for fire prevention.
6. Adequate plans for protection from vice and harmful influences.

PUBLIC WORKS AND UTILITIES

1. A good system of street construction and maintenance.
2. Construction of sewers, disposal plants, city buildings, farms or other city properties.
3. The maintenance of a city market and other city-owned public service agencies.
4. Ownership or supervision of waterworks.
5. Ownership or supervision of light and heat plants.
6. Ownership or supervision of transportation, communication or other public utilities.

PUBLIC RECREATION

1. The supervision of commercialized recreation.
2. The promotion of play and recreation and the profitable use of leisure time.
3. A system of parks, playgrounds, and open spaces.
4. A system of organized and directed play and recreation.
5. A plan for a civic and social center.
6. Others.

PUBLIC EDUCATION

1. Effective organization and administration.
2. Careful selection, equipment, and supervision of teaching.
3. An adequate curriculum, classification, and grading of pupils.
4. Good school hygiene in grounds, buildings, and methods.
5. Service of the school to the whole community.
6. A civic interest back of the school.

VOLUNTARY AND CIVIC SERVICES

1. Coöperation between officials and private agencies in public service, libraries, inspection of weights and measures, and other services.
2. A community council or clearing house for all voluntary agencies.
3. A live chamber of commerce.
4. A good atmosphere in which the other needed voluntary agencies may work.
5. Coöperation with the churches and denominational educational institutions.
6. Others.

SERVICES TO THE RURAL COMMUNITY

1. A "country-serving" as well as "city-building" municipality.
2. The promotion of economic welfare in the country.
3. The improvement of communication and transportation.
4. The promotion of better organization and coöperation.
5. The improvement of social and school conditions.
6. An all-county chamber of commerce.

The City a Complex of Opportunities and Obligations. Social relationships and the obligations of government and social service are most clearly defined in the modern city, which represents at once the most advanced and the most complex form of civilization the world over. Because of the concentration of population, of the predominance of secondary occupations and the massing of industry, of the interdependence of the population with its ever-increasing relationships, and of the other various outgrowths of city life, the social responsibility has increased a hundredfold. From these conditions have arisen new and larger problems of administration, of health, safety, convenience, and education, together with the manifold problems of general social welfare. From these, again, have come increased opportunities for expert service and increased demands for business-like government and organization. In the city responsibility for the public welfare has taken the form of accountability of government and government officials for economy and efficiency in the expenditure of public funds, and of accountability of private citizens for support in this undertaking. By economy we may mean simply the careful, scientific, and well-planned expenditure of money for the definite purposes and services for which funds are provided; by efficiency we mean primarily the adequate meeting of social needs within

the prescribed limits of city government in coöperation with private support. How true this is and how important to the welfare of all the people will appear from an examination of the scope of municipal social service.

Two Decades of Progress in Town and City. So great has been the progress in better government and municipal social services in our towns and cities within the last two decades that we have come to look here for many of our standards of excellence, rather than conceding that the government of our cities is a national disgrace, as was once maintained by our foreign and domestic critics. And yet there is much to be done. Not only in the larger cities, but in the smaller cities and towns as well, there is ample obligation to increase the effectiveness of local government. And in the building up of new cities and the enlargement of towns a remarkable opportunity awaits the citizenship of the nation. For the towns will increase in numbers and population and the problems of municipal life and government will become more and more complex. What an opportunity, therefore, for the best expression of civic interest and for the keenest participation in good government throughout these thousands of towns and cities, representative of our best life and traditions! From observation and study, and from the testimony of those in a position to know, it seems fair to assume that the average citizen has a very fragmentary knowledge of his home city and its functions, while at the same time he desires to acquire more information without the necessity of going exhaustively into a study of city government and social conditions. That the citizens should keep informed upon such matters is clear for several self-evident reasons: in order that they may appreciate the problems and responsibilities resting upon the officials chosen; in order to appreciate the problems and responsibilities resting upon the private individual; in order to be able to coöperate intelligently with the official government; in order to secure the required publicity for public acts and officials; and in order to guarantee the economy, efficiency, and wholesome evolution of city government.

Progress in Government. No matter what the form of government may be, information, interest, and participation as outlined above are of the utmost importance. In no phase of American life has there been more definite progress than in the form and

spirit of municipal government. From a statement of H. W. Dodd, Secretary of the National Municipal League, at a regional conference on local government held at the University of North Carolina in 1921, we may make a summary of progress in municipal government in the United States in recent years. The curse of our municipal government in the past, as with our state government, has been its puzzling complexity. Early in the last century our cities followed the federal plan of two chambered councils and an elected executive. At this point, however, they diverted from the model through fear of a strong mayor. They made the mayor weak as an executive, giving him little control over his subordinates, many of whom were elected independently. By such a system of checks and balances it was supposed that the various departments of government would be set over against one another in a state of perfect equilibrium. The liberty of the citizen would thus be protected against autocratic officials who would otherwise selfishly gather power to themselves to the disadvantage of the people. This complicated system, difficult to administer at best, was further darkened by the adoption of the spoils system. "To the victor belong the spoils" sounded like a good sporting proposition and the American people accepted it in an uncritical spirit. Naturally municipal elections followed national party lines since the strength of the party rested upon its local units. The theory of democracy seemed to demand that all public offices be elective no matter how small or obscure they were. Thus local elections formed the battle ground for contending political organizations and it was to be expected that when one party got control of the elective offices they would not stop until they had extended their control to all appointive offices and employees as well. This situation was indeed a dark background for the development of effective municipal government capable of fulfilling the manifold important duties now performed by our cities. Of course the unwieldy structure was not so costly while the objects of municipal administration remained simple. When our cities spent only a fraction of what they spend to-day, when there was no need of a sanitary engineer or a street railway expert, when tax assessments were easily made and when the engineering problems of the city were practically nil, a confused, purposeless political administration could be endured; but when the affairs of our cities came to involve millions of dollars in

.wealth and highly technical problems of management and engineering, the older form of legislative and administrative organization broke down completely. The shame of our cities became a byword and something had to be done.

The City Manager Plan. After many alterations in city government in the search for simplicity and definiteness, and after much experimenting with the council and commission forms of government, the present tendency is to adopt the city manager plan. We summarize again from Mr. Dodd's appraisal. Under this plan, the city manager is chosen not by popular election but by a small body of elected representatives who are able to study intensively the qualifications and experience of candidates and to select accordingly. The city manager is given the power to appoint his subordinates and to remove them. He thus becomes completely and inescapably responsible for their conduct individually as well as for the results of the administration as a whole. The city manager is chosen as an executive and is not a political choice. This means that broad questions of policy have not entered into his selection. It is not the city manager's job to decide questions of policy. This is the council's job. It is the city manager's job to carry out the policy handed down by the council. Observe that the city manager has not been chosen at a political election. Therefore he has not had to make political pledges or kiss babies to land his job. The council are elected representatives of the people. With them rests the determination of policy. The people as a rule are perfectly able and willing to choose their legislative agents because they are chosen on the basis of honesty and ability to formulate policies. We trust them with the lawmaking power. For the execution of the law we rely upon specially designated agents. The city manager form of government is simply the culmination of a process which has been going on for over a generation. Its purpose is simplification of organization and the removal of the spoils system. Most of our cities have abolished the old two-chambered council. A great many cities have adopted the commission government plan which centralizes in five commissioners all legislative and executive functions. Most of our large cities have provided for the so-called strong mayor. Unlike the old-fashioned mayor, the new mayor is given the power of appointment and removal of his associates.

He is thus compelled to accept more responsibility for city administration than he used to do. Nevertheless, the mayor is still a politically elected official who is bound to reward by political office those who helped him to be elected. The same criticism applies to the commission form of government, where we have both the appropriating and the spending power in the same hands. The commissioners are elected for political purposes without respect to pledges, experience, or attainments. Thus a harness maker may become chief of police or a barber commissioner of public utilities. This is no reflection on such men as members of a legislative body, but it does mean that they have not the equipment necessary to administer the technical details of a great department.

The Scope of Municipal Services. The forms of organization differ widely in different cities; the service departments and divisions are almost as numerous as the cities themselves. But the fundamental services of the city to its constituency are in general the same for all cities, although means for meeting its needs vary widely according to local conditions. The principal municipal services may be classified in the following divisions: General administration, city planning; public works; public health, sanitation, and housing inspection; charities, corrections, and public welfare; civic uplift and general social services; private services in the municipality; and services to the rural communities adjacent. The story of what is included in each of these will be told in a brief outline of principal topics under each division, the summary of which will give the complete story of the city's services. Is it worth while to know of these fundamentals? Will such knowledge offer a guide to the citizen's effective inquiry, study, and use of the ballot?

General Administration and Management. That the general administration and government of a corporation spending millions of dollars is a most important service, requiring great responsibility and efficiency, is not infrequently overlooked when this corporation happens to be the city government of all the people. And yet this is precisely the most essential of all chartered corporations for the people. The general administration not only supervises the execution of all acts and services but includes many important special branches. There is the legislative branch, with all its clerks; there is the executive branch, consisting of the mayor, manager, superintendent or other head of the government with his executive

boards and commissions, with the treasurer or chamberlains, and with the solicitors or other legal advisors; there is the judicial branch with such municipal courts, courts of justice or other courts, and coroners, together with sheriffs and marshals, as do not belong to special departments; and finally there is the election of officers and the upkeep and management of government buildings and properties belonging to the people. It is worth something to the administration officials to know that the people whom they serve are acquainted with the duties being performed. Methods of coöperation and study include: citizen inquiry into facts and procedure, citizen expert aid to officials, vigilance as to election and nomination of officers, citizen advisory service, citizen research and publicity, through bureaus of municipal research, economy and efficiency commissions, national and local municipal leagues, voters' leagues, political clubs, societies for the study and promotion of good government, committees of "one hundred," academic or scientific societies, civil service committees or commissions; taxation committees, and general accounting or business organizations of whatever sort. Exhibits, surveys, publicity campaigns, and coöperation in budget-making may also enlist the activity and help of the common citizen.

Financial Organization and Methods. The financial methods obtaining in the city administration contribute much to the efficiency or inefficiency of municipal services. Among the most important of these services is that of budget-making, through which the program of the year is too often marred instead of made. Important alongside the budget-making is the system of accounting, which includes office accounts, cost accounts, operative records, forms of reporting, filing systems, mechanical aid and general facility in keeping books for the public. Poor bookkeeping is no more justified in the public's business than elsewhere, but rather less justified. Important also is the method of financing public improvements; while the method of assessing and collecting revenue constitutes a tremendous task for public services. Nowhere more than here is the demand for efficiency and business government more apparent and urgent. Forms of research and coöperation include: citizen interest in budget-making, coöperation in making estimates of the needs of the several departments of city government, study and inquiry into the elimination of

wasted or unwise expenditures, expert assistance by business men and women, use of business methods in city government, planning of finances, programs for taxes and bond issues, stimulation of official interest in new methods of revenue, suitable distribution of license requirements, coöperation in introducing an itemized system of expenditures apart from the budget, watching public service corporation franchises, helping to use revenue from public utilities, the giving of special gifts and endowments.

City and Town Planning. The scientific planning for the present and future of the city constitutes as much a part of its services as do carefully made plans for the success of any business organization; and more because the city involves the welfare in life, health, and comfort of many more people than does any private organization. Therefore, it is of the utmost importance to plan for recreational facilities in parks and playgrounds; for transportation facilities in the location and construction of lines and terminals, and in the direction and expansion of streets, for factory facilities with reference to segregation and enlargement, for workmen's homes with reference to the welfare of the city and the workmen, and for both civic and industrial centers with reference to general civic and industrial efficiency. It would be inexcusable to allow the city to grow up without recreation; to allow the street car companies to select routes, and the railroads, terminals; to allow the proprietors of factories to plan only for their own gain; or even to allow the landlord to ignore the rights and wishes of the laboring classes within the city. Planning ahead not only brings future efficiency and welfare but prevents untold waste of time, energy and money with the consequent ills of maladjustment. It is therefore good business. Forms of research and coöperation include: citizen interest and inquiry into future needs of the community, preservation of grounds, trees, and other natural resources, preservation of spaces and avenues for expansion, obtaining properties for reasonable expenditures, prevention of congestion, extension of roads and streets, promotion of the beautiful, planning of housing communities, planning for factory districts, planning for wholesale trades, bettering the quality of workingmen's homes. Such improvements are brought about through municipal improvement associations, city planning committees, city-beautiful leagues, playground associations, garden associations, working-

men's clubs, women's municipal leagues, local organizations of whatever sort. Surveys, exhibits, conferences, publicity, coöperation, facilitate the enlistment of public interest.

Sanitation and Housing Inspection. Sanitation is the preventive work looking toward health efficiency and includes inspection of congested areas, disposal of garbage and sewage and the general cleanliness of the city, as well as the sanitary inspection of houses and premises and plumbing. The supervision of buildings is concerned with the plans of construction and plumbing for both sanitation and safety, and construction and inspection of buildings with reference to fire prevention. Such supervision may require the adoption of provisions in accord with model building plans and regulation in accordance with city planning as already outlined. Forms of coöperation and study include: citizen interest in a clean city; in the elimination of dirt and filth and ugliness; in the prevention of disease; clean streets; in clean back yards; in clean vacant lots; elimination of the fly and mosquito; in better housing conditions; in better water supply; in better drainage. The elimination of unsanitary and unhealthful conditions is encouraged by housing associations, visiting associations; relief associations; civic clubs; city improvement associations; special days; clean-up days; exhibits; propaganda; instruction; coöperation with schools; study and surveys, publicity.

Public Health. The public health department should begin with a public health program. The list of public health services comprises medical inspection services to control contagious diseases, hospital services, food inspection service, meat inspection service, milk inspection service, infant welfare services, laboratory services, and finally statistical services. Failure to control contagious diseases is responsible for epidemics and a constant high death rate; failure to provide specially for infant welfare work in the summer results in the death from preventable causes of hundreds of little children; failure to provide adequate laboratories cripples service in most of the divisions of health work; and a failure to provide statistical services results in the city having no standard or record by which to measure its work or progress. Forms of coöperation and study include: citizen interest in a community program to banish disease and build up an enviable health record, better hospital facilities, fewer contagious diseases,

fewer infant deaths, better vital statistics. Coöperation in lowering mortality and improving health is secured through visiting nurse associations, physicians' clubs, baby-saving campaigns, societies for the prevention of disease, milk and ice funds, the distribution of dispensaries and medical centers. Campaigns, exhibits, clinics, instruction, special days, propaganda, publicity, coöperation help to bring before the public a recognition of the importance of health programs.

Public Welfare. The demands upon the city for relief services fall into two general divisions: those having to do with charities within institutions supported by the city, that is, indoor relief; and those having to do with charities administered in the homes of the needy, that is, outdoor relief. In the smaller cities charities are almost entirely outdoor, local or county almshouses taking care of the other needs. In connection with the charity services which the city may render two other aspects are important: the first has to do with relief by prevention, through city planning, employment bureaus, insurance and savings systems, juvenile agencies and others; and the second concerns efficient coöperation with private charities and philanthropy, this itself constituting an important, and in many cases, the principal means of charity work by the city. Services relating to corrections are those having to do with prisons, penitentiaries, and reformatories, together with the criminal courts, juvenile courts and other modes of dealing with offenders, especially youthful offenders. Than the problem of corrections there is perhaps no single service to be rendered of more far-reaching significance. Forms of coöperation and study include: citizen interest in a normal population, the elimination and helping of defectives, dependents and delinquents; relief for the needy, prevention of vice and crime, correction for the curable, welfare for the people. Such work is carried on through associated charities, homes and hospitals, juvenile corrective and protective associations, big-brother movements, clubs for boys and girls, work and help for the aged, visiting associations, juvenile courts, and literally hundreds of methods of charity, consisting of contributions, supervision, visiting, follow-up work, study, earnestness, direction.

Public Safety. The public safety of the city is commonly considered under two heads, the services being classified as police protection and fire protection. The police department has varied

obligations to perform, including its own efficient organization and control, the training and equipment of officers and recruits and effective rules and regulations governing safety service. It has in addition to vigilance in the apprehension of criminal offenders the regulation and control of street traffic, transportation and the use of streets; the special assignment of the control of vice, and efficient methods for the detection of harmful forces through both secret and open investigations. The police departments in American cities have been specially subservient to politics and graft, and have thereby retarded the progress of cities. The fire department has not only to perform its duty of fire fighting, for which it must have an efficient organization and administration, but it must also take special steps toward fire prevention. Through this latter service a new efficiency awaits the redirected fire forces. Forms of coöperation and study include: citizen interest in making the community a good place in which to live, elimination of crime and vice, elimination of bad influences, elimination of unnecessary loss by fire, programs of safety first and always. These are brought about through police commissions, societies for the prevention of vice, societies for protection of family, prison commissions, societies for protection of children, safety-first societies, fire-prevention societies. As an aid in such protective programs there is a need for study, propaganda, publicity, punishment, coöperation.

Public Works and Utilities. Under the division of public works are the highways, with their construction, inspection, and maintenance; the cleaning and sweeping of streets and the accompanying organization and management of labor; and the disposition of sweepings and street garbage and other waste. Next come sewers, with their construction and maintenance and the disposal of sewage, and of course the organization and management of labor. There are also the public utilities, such as the municipally-owned water and light plants, with their construction and maintenance and all public buildings or other property connected with them. Within the field of public works the American city in the past has been often noted for its inefficiency and waste; and no field perhaps would repay a careful study more than this. Forms of coöperation and study include: citizen interest and aid in establishing adequate and satisfactory communication; transportation; public utilities; elimination of waste and graft; economy as

respects the public satisfactions and comforts; efficiency in public service. The interest in improvement for the public benefit is evidenced by good roads committees; good roads days; street improvement associations; national highway commissions; engineering societies; building associations; citizens' inquiry committees; work-together societies; other organizations of many sorts. Surveys, exhibits, demonstrations, publicity, conferences, special days, coöperation represent the enthusiastic concern of the people in the advance toward public improvement.

Public Recreation. Recreation has well been called the physical basis of social organization, and yet most communities pay little special attention to organized recreation. The large cities are notable exceptions, recognizing public recreation as a fundamental concern of city government. A proper recreational system will provide for parks, large and small, for playgrounds and organized play, for the perfection of the school play system, for social centers, and for the supervision of all public recreational places. Forms of coöperation and study include: citizen interest and help in making a wholesome and joyous community; in utilization of leisure time, directed play, helpful amusements, physical and mental welfare, a better race of citizens. The recreational interests of the people are represented by recreation committees, playground associations, story-tellers' leagues, dramatic associations, social center committees, music and festival associations, park commissions. Active participation takes form in play, drama, pageantry, garden and playground exhibits, social centers, festivals, lecture courses, organized athletics.

Public Education. Public education in this classification consists largely of the public schools and would seem to be self-explanatory. And yet the services to be rendered by the public schools, with the accompanying complex problems of administration, are far greater than the ordinary citizen has any practical conception of. These services include the efficient organization and administration of the school system both from without and from within, the problem of selecting efficient teachers without the rule of politics, the problem of equipment of teachers, the problem of selecting a practical curriculum with varied courses of study, the problem of grading and classifying school children, the problems of retardation and of special schools, night schools,

vocational schools, coöperative schools, schools for defectives and all others, the problem of the health of the child, with adequate medical inspection, the problem of general school hygiene, including the buildings and grounds, heating and lighting, ventilating and seating, sanitation and comfort, together with recreation and playgrounds, the problem of the wider use of the schoolhouse for social services to the community, the problem of citizen and patron coöperation; and with all these and many others, the specific problems of utilizing moneys, the supply department itself being a considerable business. Finally, the efficiency of all these services will depend largely upon the great problem of selecting and organizing the board of education, this having constituted for many years the greatest of administrative tasks. What a tremendous field for citizen coöperation and civic service! Forms of coöperation and study include: citizen interest in the schools, coöperation with teachers and boards, improvement of the school plant, efficiency in correlating school and home, improvement of school sentiment, larger opportunities for school work, better attendance. Educational interests are facilitated by home and school leagues; public education associations, parent-teacher associations, school visitors, kindergartens, medical inspection visitors, school garden associations, pedagogical associations. The actual working out of the results of an active educational interest is demonstrated by visiting, study, contributions, school lunches, exhibits, coöperation.

Miscellaneous Service. More and more the modern city is recognizing its general obligation to perform as many social services, other than the technical and mechanical duties of city government, as are possible under existing circumstances. Among these services are the operation of public libraries and reading rooms, of civic centers, the supervision of weights and measures, the organization and administration of the city markets, the inspection of food supplies, the adoption of civil service and pensions for employees, and many other similar efforts. That there will be found a means and an avenue for increased efficiency and social service in these civic efforts cannot be doubted. And yet with all the formal and organized services of the city, complete efficiency is not possible without the thorough coördination of official with private services. Coöperation with the churches, with the hos-

pitals, with the charities, with the women's clubs, with all civic clubs, with private educational institutions or public institutions other than municipal, with chambers of commerce or other booster organizations, and with all other private resources are essential to an effective and productive city organization. Civic education and civic consciousness are synonymous with these efforts, which are themselves coördinate with formal municipal services.

Services to the Rural Community. But the city must not only be city-building within its own domain, but country-serving in its relations toward the surrounding communities upon which it depends for support and expansion. This is true both to insure its own permanence and welfare and from the higher obligations of social service to society. In this capacity the city can aid the rural districts in greater or less degree and in varying ways, by increasing efficiency in farming, in merchandise and exchange, in transportation, in communication, in rural finance, in better co-operation and organization, in health and sanitation, in adding to the social satisfactions of country life, in aiding the rural church and rural school, in general civic education and publicity, in promoting the welfare of country womanhood, the country home and family, the beautification of the country, in the recognition of rural leadership and rural values, in building up communities by promoting coöperation with governmental functions. How the farm demonstrator, the educational leader, the road expert, and many others sent by the city have made over the rural districts is now matter for record. That every city must consider this aspect of its efforts is synonymous with the assertion that every city wishes to grow and to provide efficient services for its people. No greater opportunity has been overlooked than this. To what extent can the city or town community include in its services maintenance of a rest room for country women who must spend long hours in town? Or coöperation in a county fair? or the provision of comfort stations, or municipal sheds or garages, or markets, or roads, or credits? or the recognition of rural leadership in the county?

FOR FURTHER STUDY

For Information

1. What are some of the factors tending to produce an increasing amount of crime in the city?

2. State Professor Burgess' analysis of the process of city expansion.
3. Compare the urban population of the United States in 1920 with the rural population.
4. Outline the city manager plan of government.
5. Give the general scope of municipal services.

For Stimulating Thought

6. What conditions, changes, or social upheavals have furthered the urbanization of society?
7. How do you account for the fact that the administration of the city's business is not carried on with the same care as that of a private corporation?
8. What are some of the dangers incurred by too rapid growth of a city?
9. What are the limitations of city populations?
10. How does the breaking down of primary contacts result in increased crime?

For Research and Creative Writing

11. Cite examples of too rapid growth of cities and indicate reasons for the undue increase in population.
12. Show the increase in population by ten-year periods for the twenty largest cities of the United States since 1880.
13. Make a study of the number of individuals receiving aid from a local social agency in the last year.
14. Measure a city according to the standards set in this chapter.
15. Make a study of ten families that have migrated from country to city.

For Practical Application

16. For a given city work out a plan for greater coördination of social agencies.
17. Examine a particular city and show what progress in government, planning, and social conditions has been made.
18. Draw up a plan to minimize conflict between town and country.

19. Draw up a plan for the improvement of the slum districts of a particular city.
20. Outline a recreation program which will gain a greater support from the people.

Continuity of Effort

21. How can the National Municipal League be of benefit to the local city?
22. What civic or service clubs are interested in city development?
23. Show the interdependence of rural and urban districts in a given area.
24. Outline a chart for a good municipal health development.
25. Describe the State Municipal Association and make suggestions for its improvement.

For Effective Reading

26. For special study: Park and Burgess' *The City*, Knowle's *City Planning*, Douglas' *The Small Town*, *1922 Proceedings of the American Sociological Society*, Beard's *American City Government.*
27. For sampling or exhaustive reading: Brunner, Douglass, H. P., Fry, Harlean, James, James, H. G., Kern, Sharp, Simkhovitch, White, W. A.,

CHAPTER XXVI

PROBLEMS OF COUNTRY LIFE

Rural Study. The present country life movement in America is well illustrated by the American Country Life Association, which grew gradually out of the original conference on country life called by President Roosevelt in 1909, and out of departments of rural life in various colleges and universities. The scope and objectives of rural social study and social work may be comprehended by studying the committees of the Association as at present organized. The fourteen committees are: *Rural Government and Legislation, Rural Organization, Country Planning, Teaching of Rural Sociology, Recreation and Social Life, Religious Life and Activities, Rural Social Work, Communications and Transportation, Rural Leadership Training, Investigation of Rural Social Problems, Rural Education, Health and Sanitation, Home Making, International Aspects of Country Life.* The further scope of rural problems may very well be illustrated by the eight volumes in which have been published the proceedings of the annual meetings of the American Country Life Association. These volumes are: *Rural Objectives, Rural Health, Rural Organization, Town and Country Relations, Country Community Education, The Rural Home, Religion in Country Life, Needed Readjustments in Rural Life.*

The Rural Population. The population basis of the country life problem has been well stated by Professor C. E. Lively in the *Handbook of Rural Social Resources*, itself an outgrowth of the American Country Life Conference, to which we shall refer again. This statement of the rural population is set down here in contrast and as supplement to our discussion of the urban population in the previous chapter:

> In the United States, the term rural is commonly used to designate that group of some fifty million people who live in the open country or in places of less than 2,500 population. This rural element which once constituted the whole population has been shrinking with each census until in 1920 it comprised only 48.6 per cent of the total

population. The change has been chiefly due to the rapid growth of cities, but it has also been due in part to a change in the definition of what constitutes rural population, since it was not until 1910 that the Census Bureau adopted 2,500 as the upper limit of the rural group. Used in this sense the term rural population does not designate a natural grouping but represents an arbitrary classification of somewhat dissimilar elements. It includes a group of incorporated villages of less than 2,500 population, which remains in rather constant proportion to the general population, comprising 8.5 per cent of the total in 1920. This group shows such distinctive characteristics as to make it seem advisable to treat villages as a separate element in the rural population.

The Farm Population. Inasmuch as the Census data relating to rural populations include, besides the farm communities, villages of 2,500 inhabitants and many persons who pursue occupations other than farming, it will be relevant to note certain characteristics of the purely farming population. Statistics quoted from the federal Census Bureau by the *University Weekly News* of the University of South Carolina reveal that in the five years from 1920 to 1925 the farm population decreased from 29.9 per cent of the population to 25.2 per cent. Moreover, there were in 1925 actually fewer people living on farms than in 1920. In 1920 there were 31,614,269 farm dwellers, while in 1925 there were only 29,023,002, making a total loss of 8.2 per cent. During the same period the non-farm population increased 16.4 per cent. Furthermore, this decrease in farm population was not confined to any particular section of the United States but was distributed throughout the entire nation. All states except eight were found to have decreased in percentage of farm population and those states in which agriculture predominates sustained the greatest losses. Georgia led in the percentage of loss of farm population, her decrease being 22.2 per cent. The next five in order of percentage loss were Utah, Arizona, Montana, Kentucky, and South Carolina.

Country Life Influence in the Nation. If the modern city with its complex problems is new, the rural civilization is undeniably old and has already exerted its great influence upon the nation. Here, therefore, are problems for the student: What shall be the form and manner of life which the new city will substitute for the old country life? What can be put in place of the heritage of other years? Not that the early rural standards and country life were

ever adequate or satisfying. There were limitations enough, to be sure. In this brief discussion there is no thought simply of venerating the past or of calling back "the old days." On the contrary, the deficiencies of the past are recognized along with the absolute necessity for the change to present and future conditions. The old country life is gone; in its stead is the new country life and its ideals on the one hand, and on the other the newer urban and industrial life. And whatever may be said about the limitations or glories of the earlier country life pioneering in American civilization, in the fabric of our national make-up, as well as in the ideals and structure of any great nation, country life and the earlier pioneering days have played a decisively important part. Past deficiencies do not alter the fact that the character of our institutions and civilization has been conditioned largely by the early pioneering ideals, standards, and practices of a rural people. So much is merely historical statement. The deficiencies of a western pioneering life, for instance, cannot lessen its part in the development of the character of a Theodore Roosevelt; or its vital influence upon the life and writings of our literary folk. Likewise, Dr. Branson points out, in his delightful stories concerning the rural folk of Germany and Denmark, how the former owners of land and farm homes constitute a great stabilizing force in the economic and political life of a nation. Where shall an equivalent force be found for the urban and industrial society which is superseding the rural? Other similar qualities of the older country life which have contributed to the stronger points of American character would prove equally interesting—and incidentally almost limitless in number.

Among Literary Folk. An illustration of a different sort will be found in the background of present-day writers, as well as of those of former generations. In the lives of a dozen authors, taken at random, whose works are now popular, the great out-of-doors or the frontier appears as the background against which they have lived their own lives or thrown the action of their distinctive work. Of one woman writer the "preliminary schooling was that of contact with the raw life of a newly settled and cultivated land, participating in the work of the farm . . . next to the soil, the deep black river bottoms, the pale sandy tilth of the uplands, and the red clays. . . ." And later she says, "I have never found any

intellectual excitement more intense than I used to feel when I spent a morning with one of these pioneer women at her baking or butter-making. . . ." Or another: "He knew the roughest work of the mountain farms, fished in glacial lakes, trudged miles to a poor village school." Another, born in the backwoods, "did the chores, sawed wood . . . chopped cordwood in the forest to get money for books and clothing." Of the parents of another: "They were pioneers—the unafraid—those who felled trees, broke the soil, fought the Indians—they who begot a new race of hard-working, God-fearing human beings." And so there might be quoted scores of similar typical statements of dominant influence in the making of a literature, not only of past generations but of the present as well.

The Fabric of the Past. The pleasures and picturesque aspects of country life do not constitute a new theme. They are instinctively and by experience interwoven in the fabric of our personalities and our society. Nature and the soil; flocks and grain; mother earth and the starry heavens have been the inspiration for the highest efforts in literature and labor for long ages. Typical are the ancient influences and references, from the time when Vergil, himself a farmer's boy, sang of nature as through a golden dream, and Horace enshrined the joys of rural seclusion in lyrics of grace and universal appeal, continuously through every generation to the present, when our literature, our morality, and our philosophy are all enriched by contact with nature and rural life. Similar is the influence upon national life and character; upon personal character and conduct; upon the institutions of civilization; and upon scores of specific concepts such as those of property, wealth, and health. The results of this influence have been expressed in various ways. In more recent days its practical outgrowths have manifested themselves in suburban home movements, in the development of the gentlemen's country estate, and in the appeal made to city dwellers by the call of the wild. It is necessary only to refer to these as typical of the large hold which the pleasures of country life have upon us. But these aspects, however important and attractive they may be, and however much of character they may reveal, are but superficial forms of expression and offer but little relief to an urban age.

Pioneer Hardihood. One would fain linger over the pictures

of early days, not only with something of the wistfulness natural to those who look on from afar, but with the perception that here was realism of the sternest sort linked with idealism of great power. Sturdy groups of large families, fighting for survival and dominance in the midst of nature and personal enemies, knowing not the fear of softness and cowardice, yet always in the midst of a gnawing fear of providence and the unknown; having a great unexpressed and silent faith along with their wonder and reverence; bearing as a matter of course great handicaps, constant sufferings, poignant grief, silent and heroic people enduring as an everyday experience those things which would now cause great commotion and apprehension, as indeed they should; creators of rough-hewn progress, developers of unconscious initiative. Or again, a self-reliant folk developing a society where poetry and politics could go together with the editing of the country newspaper; or where the country doctor found full scope for his composite virtues; or the circuit rider, maker of civilization, traveled his heroic rounds. Of the characteristic life and labor of the early pioneer country folk there is no end of rich heritage as "across the fields the neighbors go, their lanterns swinging to and fro. . . . In all hearts a high faith glows."

Contrasts and Equivalents. Of contrasts in the present and equivalents for the future much remains to be seen. For the hardy race which seemed to develop its strength through hardship on mountain crag or shores of sand do we now have a sort of a swift race developing its softness through speeding joys and lessening work? For America the Beautiful, with her rocks and rills, her woods and templed hills, is there growing up an America with great aversion to actual contacts with life and labor, or to the glory of living in the open country or the exhilarating process of walking, with the pedestrian's limit not more than one-fourth of one mile, lest all strength flee this mortal body? For the reverence and wonder of the youthful spirit in contemplation of nature and the frontier the great inventions and march of science bring forth from the modern small boy the simple and sincere query, "Well, what of it?" or from the youthful girl the weary sigh that "Anything this side of New York bores me." Over against these, on the other hand, are the great equivalents, in the country regions, of better education, better health, better homes and conveniences, better

transportation, the promise of a long and full life; while in the cities are the same enlarged opportunities, with still the query as to what may be the spiritual equivalents yet to come. Something of the same sort of inquiry or critical attitude will be evoked by the ultra modern provincialism of the largest urban groups, or by the extremely artificial atmosphere and standards of an urban intellectualized aristocracy, or by the tense and often demoralizing environment of the melting pot.

The Rural Unequal Places. In any consideration of modern equivalents for the qualities of the older rural life there must, of course, be taken into account the recent change in the relative situation of rural and urban areas. Time was when isolation, limited school facilities, poor home equipment, and lack of medical care were the common lot and therefore not marks of fundamental inequality. This is not the case now. Because of the greater opportunities now afforded the majority of the population in industrial and urban areas, these rural limitations now represent actual inequalities of opportunity and violate the very elemental principles of democracy. It is true that in the old days there were few facilities for child caring, for instance, in the rural areas; but while this is still true to-day, there is a single city with more than 400 child caring agencies to look after the welfare of those within reach of its service, while the children of isolated areas in the open country remain as of yore. Not only that, but the country doctor is no more; many of the country churches, their membership drained by the townward drift, no longer serve as great socially satisfying agencies. And so for other factors. It is significant that recent meetings of the American Country Life Association have been devoted to a newer sort of search after the desired country life values and equivalents.

Analysis of Rural Problems. Before entering into the detailed study of problems of country life, we may analyze the whole field by means of a score card similar to the one in which we analyzed the problems of the city. Such an analysis may be used either as a score card in which certain values may be given to each heading, or it may be used simply as an outline for further study. For our purposes there appear to be twenty elementary divisions of country and village life upon which social study and social work may center:

The Farmer and His Work
The Business of Buying and Selling
Good Roads and Transportation
Communication
Rural Finance
Organization and Coöperation
Health and Sanitation
Social Satisfactions
The Country Church
The Country School
Civic Efforts and Other Education
The Country Newspaper-Promotion Publicity
Country Womanhood
The Country Home and Family
Rural Æsthetics
Development of Rural Leadership
Recognition of Rural Leadership
Rural Values
Commercial Growth and Expansion
Coöperation with Government.

Concreteness and Unity of Study. The analysis of rural social problems as just given is adapted to thorough study of limited topics as well as a comprehensive view of the whole field. Naturally, the topics overlap; so do the activities and problems of country life. By subdividing the elementary problems of country life into smaller units, the student is enabled to study them thoroughly, item by item. The social worker, the farm demonstration agent, the public health nurse, and other workers are enabled to attack separate problems without becoming discouraged at the difficulty or size of their tasks. In general, the twenty-fold analysis may be grouped into three larger units. The first six headings, for instance, tend to emphasize the business factors of farm life; the next nine tend to emphasize the social and cultural factors; while the last five relate to education, leadership, and social direction, through which the other objectives may be reached. From the viewpoint of this volume each of the twenty topics represents an "element" of country life. That is, if country life is weak in any one of the aspects listed the whole is incomplete and the rest of the parts are likewise handicapped for the lack of the missing item. Furthermore, each of the items listed is distinctive of the

country community rather than of the community at large. Another advantage of listing definitely the elements of country life is to enable communities in the several parts of the United States or elsewhere to be studied and measured in coördinate terms.

The Farmer and His Work. The farm and the farmer, of course, are the basis and background of country life. The farm and its management in modern times will constitute a far different problem from that of early pioneering days. Farm accounting, farm management, the diversification of crops, plant breeding, livestock breeding, horticulture, and all the other varied activities of the modern farm become subjects for sympathetic understanding and scientific study. The transformation from the small farm to large or commercialized farming may become a modern phenomenon. On the other hand, the breaking up of the old plantations and the trend in many places toward small farms and suburban homes provide another field of study and avenue of approach to the future. Once again the recognition of the personalities of the farmer and his family, and the task of making farm life itself highly valued and country life attractive, lie in fields which have not yet been adequately developed. Many other problems relating to the farmer and his work may be studied through the special books listed at the end of this chapter.

Getting the Farmer and Society at Large Connected. After all, however, the success of the farmer in diversifying and growing great crops will be short-lived unless he is successfully related to and tied in with the public at large. That is, what shall it profit a farmer to have bumper crops without a market; and how shall he buy of the goods and social culture of the outside world unless he can translate his work into money? The major problem of buying and selling immediately arises; for the farmer, in much of his present situation, must sell his goods cheaply and buy his supplies at high rates. The farmer must sell at such time and in such ways as the outside public chooses to buy. On the other hand, he must often buy what outsiders wish to sell him rather than what he wishes or needs. In attempting to meet this difficult problem of markets the farmer faces at once another larger problem involved in good roads and transportation. For again, what shall it profit the farmer to have bumper crops and the city man to be in need of them, if means of accessibility and transportation

are out of reach of both? Thus the modern movement for good roads, for low bus and freight rates, and for eliminating the distance between country and city assumes larger economic and social importance. Dependent also to a large extent upon good roads and closely related to it is the whole problem of communication of the farmer with the outside world. His churches, his newspaper, his reading, his entertainment, his contact with modern movements are all interrelated with these essential problems of getting country and town together in wholesome ways.

Rural Finance. The business problems of the farmer and the financing of good roads are, after all, dependent upon money. This has been a key difficulty in the past and still is to a large extent in the whole "solution" of our country life problems. During the World War, the United States, faced with emergency, found its first and most essential task, after community solidarity, to be that of raising money. The same situation exists to-day with reference to the farmer. In times past the farmer has been unable to get money, although often money has been plentiful. When he has obtained money he has often been forced to pay exorbitant rates of interest or credit prices. Country life has therefore suffered and along with it the nation. Farm credits are at the present time one of the most important and critical problems facing the two political parties. Likewise the task of building good roads through rural areas, where properties are rated low and populations are sparse and taxation is unable to bear the cost, has been insurmountable until recent years. This problem is being solved jointly by state, county, and community through careful study, community coöperation and financial expertness. Thus a state like North Carolina in a single effort provided $60,000,000 for good roads, and later supplemented this by other large amounts. Individual states and the federal government are experimenting successfully with means and methods for farm loans and for coöperating with counties and communities in the development of farm life and farm finance.

Organization and Coöperation. Many students have thought that individualism and lack of coöperation on the part of rural folk were characteristic distinctions between country and city population. Certainly lack of organization and coöperation in rural areas has been at the bottom of their lack of power to com-

pete with urban communities. In the matters of ordinary farm work, of buying and selling, of taxation and finance the farmer has had to go his way alone. The country preacher brings to town fifty dozens of fresh eggs, which an enthusiastic family has provided through avocational back-yard industry. He finds it literally impossible to dispose of them at any price, while yonder in the city thousands of families are begging for just such farm produce. But there are no organization and no coöperatives through which the two can get together. The tobacco growers of the two Carolinas and Virginia organize excellent coöperatives and experiment for five years, only to go down in temporary defeat because of a large number of factors incident to lack of leadership, prejudice, individualism, and tradition. The cotton coöperatives, the peanut growers, the fruit growers, and others struggle through similar difficult situations. On the other hand, the California fruit growers have developed one of the outstanding examples of coöperation, until they have now a large national and international organization for the success of the fruit grower back home and the satisfaction of the world of buyers. This whole problem of rural organization and coöperation lies at the heart of much needed future study and work in rural America.

Social Satisfactions of Life. Once again the farmer and his friends, the farmer and his family inquire whether, after all, country life is to be worth while if, even with his business success, there can be no large measure of that social life, health, education, and general satisfaction which comes from the happy community. Once again, there are many students of the country life movement who feel that this is the heart of the situation. Unless farming can be made profitable on the one hand, and country life attractive on the other, how, they ask, can we hope to keep young people on the farm or enlarge our present rural population? We have already referred to the 1926 conference of the American Country Life Association and their efforts to come to satisfactory conclusions in this respect. It is not only the general field of social life in the country but the problems of health and sanitation which must needs have attention. It has commonly been assumed that because there was plenty of fresh air, pure water, wholesome food supplies in the rural areas, therefore the country population must necessarily be more healthy. Many statistics are available to

show that because of this assumption health and sanitation have been neglected in rural areas. Many statistics have shown how death rates in the country and a large morbidity rate as well, together with poor hygiene, poor dieting, overwork, exposure, and many other natural causes have lowered the vitality of rural populations. This with the frequent absence of a country physician and of general medical service makes the problem of health a very important one in the new era.

The Idealized Rural School. The central institution of the country community, as perhaps in all communities, is the school. Just as the rural school in the past has been neglected, so to-day it is being idealized and emphasized. It is gratifying to know that remarkable progress is being made in thousands of country schools and communities. And yet there still remains not only the most important educational problem but the most difficult one. The old country school educated the child away from the country, and much of the old ideal remains. Not long since, in a country school of the average type in Georgia, not a single pupil was found who wanted or expected to live on the farm when grown up. What is to become of such a school and such a community? However, the new school is educating for the farm and country; for the love of country life and appreciation of its wonderful possibilities; for true nature study and the essentials of living in the country; for the love of animals and farms; for living and doing things in the country; for building up the old homestead and holding on to it; for buying and building new homesteads; for leadership in the country as well as in the city; for adapted manhood and womanhood. And with it all the new school proposes to teach the fundamental branches with more efficiency and permanence than ever before and to correlate them with farm and home life. What a task for work and ambition and application! To overcome lack of money; to overcome parental ignorance; to overcome distances; to obtain good teachers; to eliminate the one-room school and improve the one-teacher school as well as the consolidated ones; to teach and practice hygiene and sanitation; to lead; to follow; to create the social centre of the community as a light set upon a hill—all these are tasks demanding courage, vision, and earnest application. Surely whatever contributes to these ideals and practical programs must be worthy of high esteem.

The Rural School Teacher. And yet when all is said and done the burden of hope and responsibility invariably falls to the teacher of the country school. Poor teacher!—we often say—to whom we give much work and little pay; of whom we expect much and to whom we give little preparation; upon whom literally depends the progress of the country school, on which in turn depends the progress of country life, on which again depends the prosperity of the nation. And yet, what an opportunity for personal growth, service, and happiness! The new teacher in the new country school will first of all enter into the spirit of rural life and education. She will comprehend the principles involved in the knowledge of country life, so far as is possible, ever growing in adaptability to her community; she will make the school an expression of country life; she will become a teacher and a student; she will become a leader and the most valued member of her community; she will seek and continue her preparation; but perhaps most of all she will use her everyday opportunities and advantages. How shall this be done? How attain so many ends? First of all, there are many lay and professional leaders working for her benefit and the day is not long distant when substantial help will be more abundant. At recent national conferences on teacher-training for rural schools, it has been the concensus of opinion that our first obligation should be to the teacher, recognized officially as the keynote to the successful realization of all our plans. From conferences and leadership will come something; from publications and bulletins of all sorts will come something; from normal schools, summer schools, and institutes will come something; from self-improvement will come something; and yet with it all, for the present, most will come from the utilization of material at hand, wrought to higher usefulness through native ability and training. And in the attainment of this end, perhaps nothing will be of more value than the opportunity to teach the thorough correlation of school with nature and farm and home, such as is provided in the club program. Surely the resulting institution could be made, not an additional burden, but a twentieth-century rural school.

The Rural Church. Few aspects of the rural life situation have had more consideration in recent years than that of the rural church; for the rural church which has been for years the center of country life finds itself, like other cultural agencies of country

life, losing ground. The place of the country church in the modern situation has been presented in the chapter on religion and society. It is necessary, however, to note here the importance of the church as a central institution of country life in the past in order to study its future prospects. The church of the open country in rural America has been the hub of religious, social, and cultural life at once. Its Sunday meetings, its midweek prayer meetings, its all-day conferences, its revivals, as well as the dominant position which the minister of the gospel formerly held, have given it the central place in much of country life. Now that conditions have changed so rapidly the country church finds itself in a dilemma. There are many reasons for this situation. There are some who believe that the church has not kept pace with the world's progress. There are some who think that at bottom the great problem is one of finance. Warren H. Wilson used to say that what the Bible is to Christianity farming is to the country church—namely, the basis upon which it must prosper. When, therefore, farm life is not maintained the church will not be maintained. Others point out the lack of leadership, others the automobile and good roads with their distracting influences; still others point to the growth of cities and suburban communities.

Civic Life in the Country. Another important problem of country life is that of developing and maintaining civic spirit and group coöperation in rural areas. We have called attention to the difficulties involved in the isolation, bad roads, individualism, and fixed custom commonly prevalent in rural areas. We have called attention also to the lack of and need for more social satisfactions and fellowship in the country. One of the important problems of the country community, therefore, is that of civic interest as expressed in school, women's, and men's clubs, boys' and girls' clubs, public lectures, community meetings, and whatever other means there may be of bringing together its members. The country newspaper is an ancient and honorable institution which one could wish to see placed upon a more substantial basis. If the country newspaper could be made the official organ of community schools, of churches, of clubs, of farm and home demonstration agents, and if it could have the coöperation of civic-minded folks throughout the countryside, it might well become a great medium of civic development. Other agents of civic develop-

ment might be found in bulletins, posters, and means of publicity from state and national departments of public service.

Country Womanhood. There are several important reasons why the subject of country womanhood should be listed as an element in the country life problem and as being distinctive from the problem of womanhood in other areas. In the past the isolation of the country, the difficult farm tasks, custom, tradition, lack of conveniences, and other situations have made the lot of the farm woman a difficult one. Her loyalty and cheerfulness, her energy and charm, her great capacity as the mother of large families has given her a central place in the development of American population and country life. Nevertheless, the strain of this pioneering life has not been without its results in mental and physical ill health. For the future, the question might well be raised as to whether or not the new farm woman, developing from the newer opportunities of the farm girl, may not, through modern conveniences, begin to enjoy a larger freedom more substantial than that of the overstimulated city woman. Here is a problem worthy of much study: How may the country woman, sharing in all the elements of farm and home life, and aided and abetted by modern transportation and communication, establish for herself a new species of the active life full of work and play? That this ideal, however, is a long way from achievement may be seen from any study of current situations on the farm. The United States Department of Agriculture in 1915 published four reports dealing with the educational, domestic, social, and other needs of farm women. The thousands of letters received from farm women constitute an eloquent literature as well as conclusive evidence of the present need.

The Country Home and Family. The opportunities of the country home and family for normal adjustment in the modern era are great. Here again the student will find great contrast between situations as they are and as they might be. In many sections of rural America, especially where tenant farms abound, there are low standards of living and many difficulties in the home and family situations. The income of the farmer is almost pitifully small. Home improvements have not kept pace with farms and barns. The restlessness of children and youth adds to the difficulties of the country family. The movement of many of the best

families to town and city have laid still other burdens on those who are left. On the other hand, the country family offers an unusual opportunity for the new type of democracy in the modern family which would allow father, mother, and children to share in the ownership, management, and direction of family and farm affairs. The newer country life, if it can be evolved so as to protect the mother and children in matters of health and happiness, may well be adapted to the effective readjustment of family conditions in the modern world. Thus, in the midst of general restlessness of the family and uneasiness on the part of students of social affairs the country family may well come into its own and provide effective leadership.

Rural Æsthetics, Values, and Leadership. We have referred to the common fallacy in which it has been assumed that because there was abundance of pure water, pure air, and pure food in the country therefore these great resources would result in the best of health throughout rural areas. We have pointed out how, because of this assumption, each of these factors has often been neglected. In much the same way the beauties of country life and the inherent spiritual values which come from soil and stream and hill and vale are so taken for granted that much of their influence is lost. There is, therefore, great opportunity for renewed efforts to appreciate the beautiful in the country, to beautify roads and bridges and farms and home, and to make all these common necessities important elements in the new country life. In much the same way, too, the values which come from closeness to nature, from the romance of land and crops, from wholesome work and the independence of the farm have been not only minimized but wholly overlooked. Here are four brothers of a family, leaving the opportunities for independence and creative toil on their own farm, clamoring for a chance to go to the city and become mechanical units in a store or street-car system. Perhaps the greatest single need in the whole country life situation is that of somehow reestablishing the inherent value of country life and its opportunities for work and growth in the minds not only of country folk but of society at large. A similar problem is that of somehow developing and giving recognition to rural leaders and of establishing in the general opinion of society the place of rural leadership in the whole fabric of the nation. It would be difficult to find four problems

which would net a greater return for social study and social work than these problems of *rural æsthetics*, *rural values*, *the development of rural leadership*, and *the recognition of rural leadership*.

Building the Rural Community. There used to be a sort of proverbial expression common in colloquial speech,—"dead as a country town." There has grown up a general attitude toward country life which ascribes to it backwardness, lack of energy, and non-progressiveness. The farmer and his community are commonly thought of as being particularly negligent in the careful planning of his home, his grounds, and his towns. Here again the ideals of constructive rural building are very much in contrast to the present conditions in most rural communities. There ought to be more than simple campaigns to plan, to plant, to paint. Rural planning, like city planning, ought to take on new proportions. Pride in one's community, pride in country life, perhaps something of the booster spirit for rural areas ought to take the place of the defense mechanisms which have too often prevailed. Coöperation with governmental agencies, of which there are many, ought to become an important plank in the platform of rural folk, so that the new country life might utilize not only its own resources and the needs and demands of city life but also all the social agencies available for making coöperative effort effective. We come, finally, then to our starting point of measuring the country community. To what extent may we develop our rural community in such way as to realize our ideals for the farmer, for good roads, for communication, for rural finance, for coöperation, for health, for social satisfactions, for better schools, for better churches, for more effective civic efforts and country newspapers, for happier womanhood and families, for more beautiful countrysides, for leadership and the appreciation of all that country life offers, and for civic coöperation with all the institutions of society?

FOR FURTHER STUDY

For Information

1. What have been the changes in the farming population in the last five years?
2. What have been the chief financial problems of the farmer?
3. How is the rural school today correcting its former mistake of educating the people away from the country?

4. What are the objectives of the American Country Life Association?
5. What is "the country life problem"?

For Stimulating Thought

6. Will the country folk of the future be the backbone of American civilization as they have in the past? Discuss.
7. How could the country newspaper become a medium of civic development?
8. Why is there so great a neglect of rural æsthetics?
9. Is it possible for the country church to become a great socializing factor as in former days?
10. Are there too many people in the rural areas now to insure prosperity?

For Research and Creative Writing

11. Write the chapter of science's contribution to the improvement of farming methods and living.
12. Make a study of the electrification of rural areas in a particular state.
13. List the modern home conveniences available for the country resident which were unheard of twenty-five years ago.
14. In a given community study the cityward migration for the past five years with the view of discovering causes for leaving the country.
15. Plot the population of the local state by counties, showing rural and city population for three decades.

For Practical Application

16. Show concretely the need and opportunities for coöperation among tobacco, corn, cotton farmers, or fruit growers.
17. Outline a local plan for greater diversification of crops and their marketing.
18. Show how the rural school can develop in the boy a recognition of rural opportunities and ideals for rural development.

19. Plan a community program for the development of civic interest, and community coöperation.
20. Outline a plan for closer coöperation between country and town.

For Continuity of Effort

21. Write the story of the farm demonstration agent's contribution to farm improvement.
22. Make a list of periodicals devoted to country life problems and farm affairs.
23. Make a study of the status or possibilities of a local coöperative unit.
24. Make a study of universities which offer courses in rural sociology.
25. What county-wide social, religious, educational, or agricultural agencies are in operation in the local county?

For Effective Reading

26. For special study: Israel and Landis' *Handbook of Social Resources*, *Needed Readjustments in Rural Life*, the 1925 Proceedings of the American Country Life Association, Galpin's *Rural Social Problems*, Sanderson's *The Farmer and His Community*, Willey's *The Country Newspaper*.
27. For sampling or exhaustive reading: Boyle, Burr, W., Butterfield, Douglass, Earp, Fiske, Galpin, Gillette, Hayes, A. W., Israel, Nelson, W. C., Robbins, H., Sanderson, Sims, Taylor, Vogt, C. C., Williams, J. M., Willey.

CHAPTER XXVII

BUSINESS AND SOCIETY

Business and Government. In two previous chapters the student has seen something of the interrelation of the community with government on the one hand; and something of the evolution of government and democracy through community processes on the other. Modern government is no longer a mere police force or a "compact" organization through which men may protect themselves from outside dangers and coerce one another within. Government takes cognizance of all the activities of mankind; and democracy, as Mr. Wilson expressed it, takes thought for the common man. Thus government is also concerned with the business and occupations of men. To what extent this is true may be seen from a study of the development of business relations and the interrelation of business and society as shown in the next two chapters. In the first place, government is interested in the encouragement of the forms, means, and rewards of work for its citizens. For work is a law of life and development and, as will be seen later on in this chapter, constitutes one of the basic economic factors. Government in a democracy is interested not only in the encouragement and promotion of opportunities for workers but in the protection of their rights and the enlargement of their happiness. There are necessary, therefore, certain laws and regulations, certain departments and commissions, through which government may work for the promotion of industry and industrial welfare. Interstate-commerce laws, laws curbing monopoly and trust, provisions for encouragment of proper coöperation, laws to facilitate federal banking and regional distribution of aids to farmers and business men, and other similar efforts are normal functions of the modern government. Indeed, one of the important problems of the modern era is that of deciding to what extent government may coöperate with business and business with government. Herein lies the crux of much of the misunderstanding and agitation between capital and labor, between social idealists and

practical business folk, between advocates of capitalism and those of socialism. These questions can be decided, like the others, only after comprehensive scientific studies and sound experiments in social policy have been made. Final adjustments must be made in accordance with the place which economic problems hold in the ever-changing world.

Economic Factors of Civilization. Many students of social problems in the past as well as at the present time have thought that the economic factors of civilization and society were the supreme controlling elements. We shall see in the next chapter something more of theories of social reform based upon economic programs. It must be clear, however, that the economic element bulks large in many of the social problems already enumerated. Certainly standards of living, wages, various forms of income, poverty, and wealth are of great importance in the study of marriage and the family. Certainly in the study of the American Negro problem many economic factors in both the Southern States and the northern cities are of fundamental importance. Problems of immigration, international relations, war, women in industry, and many others find much of their genesis and direction in their economic foundations. Much of the modern sensational advance in the production of goods, in the invention of automobiles, radio, means for comfortable housing and general satisfactions of life arise from and are promoted by the economic and competitive urge. The student, therefore, must understand both the theoretical and practical basis of economics.

The Place of Economics in Social Science. We have already referred to the Joint Commission on the Presentation of the Social Studies in the Schools. Their interpretation of the field of economics in relation to the problem of living well together is an excellent statement of the place economics holds among society's problems:

> Economics sets forth, for example, certain aspects of our specialization, our interdependence, our associative effort, our technological struggle with nature, our pecuniary organization of the production and sharing of goods, our utilization of labor under the wage system, our market exchange, our international economic relations, our scheme of private property and competitive effort—all of which have become vital parts of our present social organization—and it shows how all of these function

in enabling us to work and to live together. Concerning these economic processes certain generalizations or laws have been worked out and they are available as standards or guides for individuals and for groups. Living together well in a democracy will be furthered if its people take an intelligent part in the guidance of the process. It is in this connection that it becomes peculiarly important that there should be a widespread knowledge of economic generalizations. Since a large part of our activities are economic activities, problems of competition, combinations of capital and of labor, distribution of income in relation to the common welfare, trade, transportation, and finance (to cite only a few) will always receive a large share of attention by every society which is concerned in restraining, regulating, and promoting economic activities that affect the social welfare. If democracy is to succeed, a large number of its members must learn to form intelligent judgments upon economic issues—to make those wise choices between alternative courses of action which are the real essence of 'economy' broadly conceived. They can do this only provided they come to know the general plan or organization of our economic life, and to appreciate the existence and character of economic law in both domestic and international relations.

Economics as a Working Tool. The informal committee appointed by the Commonwealth Fund to formulate a statement of basic processes in society has set forth in a most clear manner the place of economics in man's social organization. They hold that man's operations to modify his physical environment and to utilize his knowledge and science through social organization for the improvement of mass action constitutes a key problem. Professor Marshall's committee reports:

Now it happens that economics is the particular social science that is a set of working tools presented toward this particular problem. It happens that the so-called 'economic organization of society' is the aspect of social organization that lies closest to the control of nature. But it must be clear that economics is not a separate and distinct thing; it is only a point of view concerning social organization. Or, to revert to the figure of speech used at the opening of this paragraph, if economics be called a set of social-science tools presented toward the problem of control of nature, then the other social sciences help to shape these tools and to make up the machine—its tool-holding devices, power-transmission devices, and all the rest of the clattering social organization that makes it possible for the control of nature to be a social process. As should be expected, economic organization is a varying thing. The economic or-

ganization of to-day is presumably different from those that are to come. But we cannot picture a society in which there would not exist an economic organization concerned with 'making a living' for the members of society. And we cannot picture an economic organization of the future that would not wish to use the best possible technology; to use that great multiplier of man's powers, specialization; to use devices for knitting specialists and specialized things together effectively; to use effective methods of guiding and controlling economic activities.

Elementary Bases of Living. If the student wishes to test out further the important relation of business problems to society he may review briefly and vividly the picture of man's gradual development from the simple life to modern industrial relationships. Making a living has always been a primary problem and the methods followed have always conditioned many of the activities of man. The hunter's life has been different from the shepherd's. The life of groups in tropical climates has been different from that in the colder areas. In later years the culture of the farmer has differed in many ways from that of the manufacturer or banker or other workers in the city. Likewise, the degree of success with which the worker has followed his trade has affected his standard of living, his type of activity, the nature of his struggle and much of his whole mental and spiritual development. Here again the history of mankind is closely interwoven with the history of his efforts and opportunities to make a living in the physical world with which he has come in contact.

Gradual Developments. Again, the student may picture the place of economic activities in society by contrasting the earlier primary occupations with the later secondary and professional types. From the earlier days of the rudest tilling of the soil, agriculture has grown to large proportions, even extending into international relations. Simple mining operations have developed until the coal and oil industry are key powers to national and world prosperity. Simple hunting and fishing occupations have shifted from their earlier primary importance to become specialized or avocational interests. From the first rough processes of felling trees and constructing cabins lumbering and building activities have come to be measures of national prosperity or individual success. Instead of five primary methods of making a living there have developed through growth, interchange, exchange, com-

merce, industry, literally thousands of avenues through which men may seek the economic foundations of life in secondary occupations. Through these manifold secondary occupations arise need for organization, coöperation, supervision, control, business and professional ethics—in fine, social organization. From these in turn have grown up the professions which, although serving as means of making a living, are essentially social in their implications.

Early Backgrounds. The student may follow the story of economic implications in other ways. One of the best methods of study is to contrast certain earlier types of ancient and medieval economy with modern conditions. For instance, the basis of mass labor used to be conquest, serfdom, and exploitation. The conquered, both in small groups and sometimes in whole tribes, became the workers, the serfs, the slaves of the conquerors. The spirit of this sort of organized work, therefore, was the spirit of exploitation, and its technique became interwoven into the fabric of the social order. The lord of the manor was a type far different from the slave driver. Economic relationships became fixed. The master and villein from time to time set up currents which affected not only the economic but the social and cultural phases of society. These earlier systems contrasted with modern ideals and actual conditions indicate the full extent to which matters of economics and labor are social affairs, and are being studied and directed in accordance with social science and social welfare.

Larger Developments. Again, the student may contrast earlier industries, markets, trades, finances, with the present world-wide interrelated system of economic operations. From the most elementary work on farms and manors and the centralization of labor in the cities under guilds there arose simple markets with simple exchange through peddlers and itinerants. Then came larger and more extended contacts with beginnings of wholesale interchange and the opening of foreign commerce. Then came conditions that called for specialization, the division of labor, manufactures, and organization. These, again, demanded new media of exchange, and there grew up the beginnings of financial systems, of terms of agreement, money, luxuries, cooperative businesses, banks, and world finance. Here again the student's picture of the modern intricate and complicated financial

system and its ethics stands as a monumental evidence of social direction and control as compared with man's earliest efforts.

Commerce, Industry, and Agriculture. No less romantic and indicative of the action of social forces is the rapid development of commerce, technical industry, and the larger agriculture. Picture again the simple processes of the earlier civilizations and the later medieval periods. Then come upon the scene inventions of various sorts, printing, the discovery of new worlds and new territory. Following these come a broader contact and social relationships, wider needs, higher standards, the development of varying and broader cultures. These in turn increase the number and kind of commodities. From these develop incentives, competition, the larger cities, and still greater needs. Thence again arises the demand upon agriculture to supply many new wants and itself to survive in the midst of new methods and new eras. Thus agriculture develops from the simplest tilling of the soil and keeping of the herds to larger estates, plantations, and commercial concerns; then on in the modern world to the combination of these with the smaller farms and the attempt to make country life a happy place for normal families and communities, such as was described in an earlier chapter.

The Industrial Revolution. Alongside the movement for public education, the industrial revolution has been commonly considered the most epochal contribution of the 19th century to modern democratic society. Here again the student may see vividly the social implications of economic backgrounds. For the industrial revolution has in many ways completely changed the direction and evolution of society. In place of the 18th century agriculture with its rural and village life, there have grown up large cities, specialization, manufacturing centers, textile towns and villages, with the consequent moving of large portions of the population from country to city. Society has at once become urbanized and industrialized, and the nature not only of the worker's training and needs and opportunities but also of his culture and his mode of life have greatly changed. With this revolution there have come the great eras of manufacture, of competition, of exchange, of international transportation, international commerce. From these have developed the greater problems of immigration, of industrial control, of the great utilization of the sciences, and even wars due

to economic causes, as previously discussed. Thus again the industrial revolution and the future development of society are inseparable from social organization and social control.

Examples of Interrelationship. Enough examples of the historical approach and of the contrast between the earlier and later periods of society have been cited to enable the student to visualize the whole picture and to study further if he wishes. Another effective way in which the student may visualize the background and social relationship of the economic processes will be found in the study of the very wide social application and interrelationship of modern economic processes. Perhaps the simplest and most effective method of this study is to take representative commodities of the modern era and investigate their production, distribution, and use with all their ramifications. A single staple food product might be selected. Type studies of bread, of meat, of milk, of wheat, and of other staple products show a most illuminating picture of the economic-social processes of the modern era. Type studies of the newspaper, or of the automobile industry, or of moving pictures, with all of their hundreds of contributing factors, are illustrations. A study of wheat or corn in relation to the world's prosperity and happiness or in relation to famine and pestilence and markets would give another revealing picture. For the purpose of this volume we shall select the manufacture of cotton cloth as a sort of sample of the whole process of economic-social relationships; and present the story as outlined by Mary O. Cowper in a study made at the University of North Carolina in 1925. The student need only picture the earlier and simpler days before the invention of the cotton gin and before expansion of markets or the invention of the newer uses of cotton in order to see the present social contrast.

Cotton as an Example of Economic-social Processes. Cotton is one of the essentials demanded by the world. In the United States, in 1924, there were 2,000,000 people raising cotton on 40,403,000 acres. Two thousand mills with 37,804,048 spindles were ready to transform it. In one county alone there were 7,704,780 spindles with their human assistants prepared to receive their share. In the world, 18,969,000 bales of cotton of 478 pounds each were produced, and 159,109,000 spindles waited to spin it. There were exporting and importing, and world agreements and

world jealousies. American women required the finest of fabrics and embroideries and imported them from England and France and Switzerland, the Chinese asked for the coarsest cloth and took it from the United States. North and South America exchanged both fiber and fabric. England, which grew not one boll, employed 56,750,000 spindles to make the thread for cotton cloth. And to make sure that her spinners always received what is verily their staff of life, she held a strong hand on Egypt, and studied the soils and climates of all the world. There are reports sent all over the world every day as to the sun and rain in Texas and Louisiana, as to whether buying on "futures" is brisk or slow. The style of women's clothes is carefully considered, for the long or short skirt determines the profit of many a mill. More machinery is being invented, more research is undertaken, more methods of production and distribution occupy the minds of more people every year. There are ever more uses found for cotton. It is used not only for clothing, but also for killing people; for making so-called silk and for automobile tires.

Cotton and Organized Society. All organized society is an economic unit as far as cotton is concerned, in that the whole of it is affected by the conditions of the raising and manufacturing of cotton in each region, however remote. Because labor is cheap in Japan and China, English workingmen suffer to some extent. The North and the South in the United States are constantly comparing conditions and reacting toward each other. Competition becomes ruinous to whole districts and nations when coöperation does not act as a check. Professor Ely well states: "Perhaps the one fact in the evolution of society that becomes clearer and clearer as time passes, is that coöperation is the great law of social life growth. Men learn to act together in increasingly large number for increasingly numerous purposes. Individualism in production, exchange, distribution, and even consumption, gradually yield to coöperation.—We pass over from unconscious social coöperation to conscious social coöperation." The history of the cotton industry has shown the curbing of these instincts through the development of protection by the state and the understanding of the public that men must act together. Capital has united; labor has also to a large degree; but the public will suffer from war, civil and industrial, until capital and labor live in accord. That this

time is coming is indicated by the fact that a large employer of labor can say: "Labor, having more nearly perfected its organization, having experienced the advantages of democracy in government, now seeks democracy in industry. Is this unreasonable? Is it any stranger that a man should have a voice as to the conditions under which he works than that he should participate in the management of the city and the state and the nation? If a voter on governmental problems, why not a voter on industrial problems? These are fundamental questions, and on our answer to them depends our economic stability and health."

The Cotton Factory as a School. In the United States the cotton factory is, for thousands of immigrants and also for thousands of isolated natives, the first school for learning community action.

> If the present movement for industrial democracy continues to grow as it is now growing—we may reach a point where democracy in the plants, which helps a man to understand the connection between his vote and what thereafter happens, will be the real primary class for political democracy. After all, our allegiance and our sense of community responsibility are developed from our close and intimate associations rather than from our larger groupings. . . . So it may be that if this idea of group coöperation can be worked out, we will develop a new community sense and a new sense of social responsibility among our working class.

It is said in *The Iron Man:* "It is easy, under the automatic régime, for a man to stand beside a machine and produce goods, and difficult for him to stay there and remain a reasonably satisfied, contributing member of a political and social group, strong enough to maintain itself, yet flexible enough to give him reason to believe industrialism worthwhile." Machines brought men together in such masses that society was forced to see their misery and strive to relieve it. Machines are deadening the minds, and so the lives of millions. But machines can work so quickly and so well that they will release men from the long hours of monotonous routine labor, and let them, after their short hours of concentrated coöperation with the machines, take their part in other forms of community life, helping to spread the doctrine of humanism throughout the world.

Manufacture of Cotton Cloth a Symbol. Thus the manufacture

of cotton cloth becomes not only a symbol of community but an example of the history and processes of human endeavor to improve physical, social, and personal resources. A symbol and a type, too, are the rise of the cotton industry, its geographic contacts and influences, the processes of farming and ginning, of marketing and distribution and use. So also are the romance of far-away lands, the life and labor of children and women and men on the farms and in the mills, the economic processes of coöperative effort and the resultant community organization and disorganization. So, too, evolve the democratic ideals through limitation and ignorance, through paternalism and beneficence, through individualism and greed, through the constant search for better things, and through the continuing blindness of humans to their better destiny in the midst of their groping after truth. So come the pictures of children from mill and school and community; of manufacturers and workers and wealthy consumers in the homes, in the cities and in the far-away places; so come the inventors, and so the conquest of science and natural forces which challenges us to a clearer understanding of the whole problem and process through a more scientific study and a more sympathetic approach.

Nature, Man, and Society. The student thus finds society, with its many groups of different people and its many varying localities, closely interrelated through industry and the economic basis of civilization. This basis, however, is a product of the modern world which has evolved from earlier situations. In addition to the gradual evolution of industry from the simple to the complex, the student will find that the modern economic problems, like social problems, are closely related to the forces of nature. Heat, light, rainfall, moisture, winds, soils, topography, situation, and other climatic forces all go to make up the background for the modern economic world. We have discussed the primary occupations through which forests, fish, game, minerals, crops, animals, fruits, and many other products of nature supply the basis of livelihood. From these have developed the various modern forms of industry and commerce, business organization, and such present-day essential occupations as those connected with food, clothing, lumber, oil, rubber, leather, chemicals, minerals, metals, automobiles, recreation, and many others. From these, again, have developed modern banking and credit, marketing, and the

varied means of transportation, local and interstate exchange, and foreign commerce. From these, again, have come the various social implications and governmental responsibilites already outlined.

Labor and Industry. From the beginning labor has always constituted one of the basic factors of economics. First came the simple process of each individual and each smaller group working out their own means and methods of earning a living. Later followed the beginnings of the division of labor and diversification of industry. Then came conquest and war, and the conquered became the serfs and laborers for the conquerors. Succeeding this there developed the guild and manor systems, and later many other forms of serfdom and slavery. Labor as a commodity was, from the early days, therefore, of a low order, and much of the social and ethical principles of the old days were for a long time carried over into modern industry. In the United States slavery was the recrudescence of an earlier system, and in much of the modern attitude toward labor will be found remnants of the old idea that the laborer should be thankful for whatever employment he may receive. The next chapter will emphasize particularly the social relationships involved in the modern world because of this problem of the readjustment between employer and employee.

Wages and Standards. Again, one of the most difficult problems of the modern economist is that centering around the adjustment of wages. In our previous discussion of the family we have called attention to various theories which attempted to base wages upon family standards. In the next chapter other phases of the wage question will be discussed in connection with social-industrial relationships. It is important in this chapter to note that the whole problem of wages and labor must necessarily have a very important bearing upon social relationships in general. Vitally involved are the problems of standards of living, the size of families, the general increase and shifting of populations, as well as some phases of the modern eugenics movement. Many students consider such questions as the size of the family, birth control, and immigration, to be largely economic matters with social implications rather than primarily social problems. Thus the increasing complexity of modern civilization, with its mul-

tiplied occupations and vocations, brings about commensurate obligations for social direction and social control. What shall be the basis of pay upon which millions of workers operate in hundreds of new occupations? What shall be the relation between the employer and the employee? To what extent can coöperation, from the primary occupations through to labor banks, take place? To what extent must this principle of coöperation inevitably lead toward more socialistic forms of government? How can the student of society keep his feet on the ground and differentiate between the philosophy and religion of human coöperation on the one hand, and the social-economic fundamentals on the other?

Economic Research. Once again, the student must be reminded of the importance of scientific research into the business problems of society. Already we have discussed something of the business cycle in our study of social incidence. One of the most promising fields in which the social sciences can undertake genuinely scientific research is that of economic and business annals. A good example of such research is that carried on by the National Bureau of Economic Research, incorporated in 1920 for the purpose of ascertaining fundamental facts in the economic field. As Professor Edwin F. Gay, its director, says in his foreword to *Business Annals:*

> It hoped to contribute to the work of social disarmament by turning from the antagonisms of opinion to agreements upon facts. Men differ often violently in their philosophies of life, in their views as to the ends society should pursue, and as to the means best adapted to those ends. Until the knowledge of social behavior is greatly deepened and widely diffused, such opposing opinions will be honestly entertained and bitterly disputed. In so far, however, as the disputation turns upon the facts, and not merely upon their interpretation, it will be possible by the gradual extension of the field of exact knowledge ultimately to narrow the contentious field and correspondingly to enlarge the basis upon which useful social action may rest. The National Bureau, therefore, has chosen for its special province those economic problems which appear most susceptible of accurate or approximately reliable measurement, and it has elected for its audience those thoughtful citizens, of whatever persuasion or class, who esteem rational evidence, or who at least before drawing their own conclusions prefer in argument to come to agreement as to definitions and data. The scientific method, then, of the National Bureau is primarily that of quantitative measurement. But its public appeal is

not merely to that limited number who delight in the refinement of statistics but to the much larger group of intelligent men and women who realize that this choice of method means, not the evading of thorny social problems, but an attack upon them, persistently prosecuted, on one of their most vulnerable sides, that of cool and disinterested analysis. The supporters of the National Bureau have many differences of social viewpoint, but they are united in seeking the largest common ground of ascertainable truth.

Technical Economic Problems. It is not the purpose of this chapter to enter into the discussion of technical problems of economics. Any thorough student of social science must undertake adequate studies of the principles of economics before he is prepared for advanced work. It is important, however, for the student at this point to understand something of the bearing of technical economic problems on social development. In addition to business cycles, referred to above, there are many other phases of economic theory closely related to our major social problems. We have discussed the general relation of wages and social standards to the adjustment of social relationships. Nevertheless, this problem of wages is a most intricate one, with its theoretical basis in gold, its prices, quantity, supply and demand, standards of living, profits, relative wages. There are other important theories of land valuation, of rent, of taxation, of profit sharing, of industrial democracy, and their various ramifications. What these and labor as a fundamental economic commodity mean to modern industrial society the student must not neglect to learn.

Occupations and Society. A study of occupations in itself would constitute an important adventure in social inquiry. So wide and varied is the scope of labor in the modern world that an examination of the nature and number of occupations would interpret much of modern society. If the student were to select a dozen groups of vocations to include the widest possible variety he would probably choose, in addition to the learned professions, home making and allied occupations, agriculture, mining, manufacturing, building trades, machine trades, transportation, commercial occupations, and civil service or government work. Within these, however, the student will find a startling maze through which he must find his way. In their *Study of Occupations* certain Harvard professors have listed index numbers for some 225 occu-

pational incomes. Starting with the office boy at forty-two, they proceed with a list such as saleswoman, lumberman, clergyman, florist, hairdresser, chambermaid, building cleaner, dressmaker, laundress, musician, and more than 200 others, until the top index of 200 has been reached, with the surgeon, preceded closely by the lawyer, zoölogist, soil scientist, ornithologist, naval architect, motion picture director, metallurgist, mathematician, map draftsman, landscape architect. In the middle, with indices around 100, are the high school teacher, letter carrier, orchardist, tailor, typesetter, clothing factory worker, express agent, blacksmith, foundryman, shoemaker, policeman. With indices between 125 and 150 are the tinsmith, teaching principal, sergeant detective, railroad conductor, copy editor, physician, police captain, editor, locomotive engineer.

The Professions. Another important phase of the modern economic situation is that of the development of specialisms and professions. Upon the professions rests responsibility not only of providing employment for a larger number of well-trained individuals, who already numbered in the United States in 1920 more than a million, but also of setting standards and of guiding social study and social thinking. The major learned professions are usually held to include the physician, the teacher, the preacher, the lawyer, the librarian, the dentist, the pharmacist, the journalist, the accountant. In the engineering profession itself there are the civil engineer, the sanitary engineer, the mechanical engineer, the industrial chemist, the architect, and perhaps a dozen other specialists, including the safety, highway, automobile, aëronautic, hydraulic, textile, structural engineers, and others. Other special occupations include various groups of social workers; directors of playgrounds and physical education, association secretaries, artists, photographers, playwrights, actors, aviators, motion picture workers, musicians, with scores of subdivisions within many of these fields.

Business and Professional Ethics. In a previous chapter we discussed the good life and social objectives as they related to certain groups. We named there certain standards which law and medicine and other professions had set up to guide their constituency into successful living. Professor Carl F. Taeusch in 1926 published an excellent volume on *Professional and Business*

Ethics. He discusses the place of business and professional organizations in social life and their function in promoting liberty and freedom through vocational means. He calls attention to such characteristics of the professions as limitation of numbers, high standards of skill and preparation, professional attitudes, and the demarcation of functions. He believes that professional and business ethics are an important supplement to law and morality as a form of social control. He then discusses morality, law and ethics, legal ethics, the ethics of the engineer, of the teacher, of medical practice, of business conduct, of labor unions, and of farmers' coöperatives. The social philosophy underlying the professions and business groups includes the whole problem of loyalty, government, religion, obedience to the social order, and other important social implications. Our next study, therefore, might very well be directed to the problem of bringing into the disputes between capital and labor the higher ideals of professional ethics and a happy blending of social philosophy and justice with the sound principles of economic survival.

FOR FURTHER STUDY

For Information

1. What is the place of economics in the social sciences?
2. Trace briefly the development of economic activities from primary occupations to present-day professions.
3. Contrast the early type of economic civilization with the modern period.
4. Show how the industrial revolution has transformed society.
5. Show how cotton is an example of the history and processes of human endeavor to improve social surroundings.

For Stimulating Thought

6. What have been factors causing the change from individual ownership of business to group ownership or the corporation?
7. What is meant by the economic interpretation of history; estimate its validity; what are its weak points?
8. Discuss competition in relation to business enterprise; can you eliminate inequality of effort?

9. Show how industrialization and urbanization go hand in hand.
10. How has the development of the corporation made more difficult adjustment between capital and labor?

For Research and Creative Writing

11. In a particular industry trace the evolution from simple process to complex.
12. Summarize theories of economic value.
13. Discuss the rise of institutional economics.
14. Write a summary of the influence of wages and distribution of income on social well-being.
15. Make a type study of a common commodity as picturing the process of economic-social relationships.

For Practical Application

16. Review the history of the development of business enterprise in a particular community.
17. In a particular community show how natural resources have determined the industrial and business development; also the size of towns and cities.
18. Outline a program for greater coöperation between the business of city and the rural community.
19. Show how a system of single tax would work out in a particular locality.
20. Show by concrete examples the place of scientific research in the business problems of society.

For Continuity of Effort

21. Outline the economic programs of a chamber of commerce or trade board.
22. What other city organizations are there for the promotion of business enterprise? What professional groups have members?
23. To what extent is the interlocking directorate applicable to your city?
24. What resources are yet undeveloped in your society?
25. List the various occupations in a given community or city, with plans for developing both the economic and human factors.

For Effective Reading

26. Marshall's *The Story of Human Progress*, Black's *Production Economics*, Blum's *Labor Economics*, Beard's *A Short History of the American Labor Movement*, Watkins' *An Introduction to the Study of Labor Problems*.
27. For sampling or exhaustive reading: Campbell, C. G., Carver, Douglas, C. H., Douglass, P. H., Gray, J. H., Hadley, Harris, E. P., Hillavit, Hobson, Hoxie, Hunter and Watkins, Lewisohn, Pigon, Plumb, Robson, Rockefeller, Russell, Bertrand, Sanford, Sims, Spargo, Webb.

CHAPTER XXVIII

LABOR AND SOCIETY

Industry an Institution. In our last chapter we have emphasized the importance of labor in the economic problems of society and in a number of previous chapters we have called attention to the wide range of economic opportunity. In this chapter we shall study particularly the social problems which arise through the relation of the laborer to his employer and to society and life in general. We may begin by emphasizing the simple fact of the importance of work in the whole scheme of human society. For the institution of industry has been sadly neglected. Work is a law of life and happiness. Work is an essential to growth and progress. The form and means, therefore, which give adequate opportunity for all citizens to work must surely be a sanctioned institution of society. This institution may be called *industry* and includes the means of production, capital, labor, business, and occupations. Certainly the institution of industry is the most comprehensive of all—because the whole mass of democratic citizens have a part in it and its services. Certainly, therefore, conditions of labor and the relations between capital and labor are essential in any study of popular government. Certainly, therefore, the conditions of child labor and of women in industry are parts of the people-citizens' business of government. Certain it is that the opportunities for all those who work—and they should be all the people—constitute an important field of community endeavor and offer a wide field for service. The promotion of a new respect for work and the promotion of a better understanding between those who perform detailed tasks and those who employ such workers may well become one of the supreme tasks of citizen statesmanship. It seems probable that if society had in the past considered the processes of industry and work to be as fundamental as the institutions of government and family and religion, a majority of the maladjustments due to conflict between capital and labor might have been avoided. Our viewpoint in this volume, therefore, recognizes industry and work

as one of the fundamental social institutions. Our study may well begin with the laborer, the worker, the individual human unit who goes to make up this great economic community.

Labor in the Modern World. Perhaps no more striking evidence of the importance of labor in the modern world has been seen than in the World War. In the United States, for instance, the quick and loyal mobilization of all labor for accomplishing the needed tasks was an example both of patriotism and of power. Never before was greater dignity given to labor or to loyalty. In return the nation rewarded labor with high wages and opportunities for better living. Many other instances of the change in the status of labor from the ancient days to the present time could be cited. The Labour Party in England is an outstanding example. Labor unions the world over are examples of the organization of workers based on the same ethical principles as other vocational organizations. In the study of the wage index made in the previous chapter it might have been noted that skilled labor receives in many instances a larger pay than some of the older professional callings. Another aspect of life and labor in the modern world is that which centers around leisure time and cultural activities of the workingman. For the first time in history society recognizes not only the rights of the workers to enjoy the substantial fruits of labor but its own obligation to coöperate with them in securing culture and leisure-time activities. For a long time we have been in the habit of saying that the world owes its living to the farmer, from whose work and soil come the means of subsistence. A similar truism will be found now in the common saying that upon the industrial laborers of the world depend the prosperity and happiness of nations. If, therefore, the lots of the farmer and the laborer in industry are not satisfactory, then society has an urgent task before it. If the farmer and the laborer are restless, then society must take cognizance of the fact. If society does not deal fairly in the distribution of the wealth produced by farmer and laborer, then society must soon face readjustment. If in the United States, for instance, there is conflict between millions of farmers and laborers and the government on the one hand, and centers of capital and wealth on the other, then the United States faces one of its most difficult problems.

Labor and Organization. Before the student attempts to study

the details of labor organizations and the difficulties involved in adjustments between capital and labor, it is important for him to understand the basic social philosophy upon which labor organizations are based. We have already emphasized the fact that human labor is no longer a mere commodity. We have emphasized the importance of labor in numbers and position in modern society. We have emphasized the importance of education for the laborer, and have called attention to the growing modern tendency to recognize in labor more dignity, culture, and social values. Under these conditions and others modern labor has sought naturally and logically the same rights and privileges which other special groups have been accorded. For clearly, the basis for labor unions or for other organizations in industry is exactly the same as that upon which similar organizations of manufacturers or the professions such as physicians, lawyers, teachers are based. As Professor Taeusch, in his discussion of business ethics, puts it, "A social group is recognized as having a social status independent of legal and political control, both as regards certain peculiar relations among its members and the characteristic relations its members hold to the layman." The defect of labor organizations is not in the plan and spirit of organization but in the limitations in education and use of intelligence on the part of its members, a defect which society must remedy along with the solution of its other educational problems.

Misunderstandings and Contradictions. As a premise to his constructive study and work the student might very well assume that misunderstanding on the part of the capitalist and of the public, as well as of labor, is the major cause for all our maladjustments. By misunderstanding is meant, of course, blindness to the larger facts of historical interpretation and the scientific backgrounds of capital and labor. It seems strange that a modern world, recognizing increasingly the importance of personality in its philosophy and of coöperation and organization in its mechanics, should persistently misinterpret the desire of labor to organize. As Professor Taeusch says again:

> It seems strange, therefore, that the very men who are most interested in perfecting their own business or professional organization should be most vociferous in condemning the labor union. That the four brotherhoods of railway men were able to force terms from the government,

and have since been able by the compactness of their organization to improve their position by forcing concessions from the privately controlled railroads, is a matter that the business man cannot condemn unless he wishes to rank himself with the pot that calls the kettle black. It sounds strange to hear the coal operators object to measures intended to improve the lot of the miner—*e. g.*, legislation involving shorter hours, more pay, or improved working conditions, or union organization—on the score that it interferes with the laborer's right to freedom of contract or his personal liberty. Undoubtedly there is much harm to the laborer himself and to others in the way many unions are administered. But as the wise judge of Utah stated, such an argument would come with better grace from the supposedly injured party.

The Manufacturers' Viewpoint. The problem of clearing up misunderstanding is one which still requires a great deal of accurate study and much open-mindedness on the part of both employers and employees. The statement of "principles" by both manufacturers and workers sounds fair enough. There are, nevertheless, certain complicated social and economic conditions, some inherited from the past attitudes toward labor, and some from the rapid rise of labor and modern hurried attempts at democracy, which make drastic action on the part of both seem justifiable. First of all, however, let us see the positions of the two groups. The National Association of Manufacturers of the United States represents perhaps best of all the conventional viewpoint of the manufacturers. They lay down ten points:

1. Fair dealing is the fundamental and basic principle on which relations between employers and employees should rest.

2 The National Association of Manufacturers is not opposed to organizations of labor as such, but it is unalterably opposed to boycotts, black lists and other illegal acts of interference with the personal liberty of employer and employee.

3. No person should be refused employment or in any way be discriminated against on account of membership or non-membership in any labor organization, and there should be no discriminating against or interference with any employee who is not a member of a labor organization by members of such organizations.

4. With due regard to contracts, it is the right of the employee to leave his employment whenever he sees fit, and it is the right of the employer to discharge any employee when he sees fit.

5. Employers must be free to employ their work people at wages mu-

tually satisfactory, without interference or dictation on the part of individuals or organizations not directly parties to such contracts.

6. Employers must be unmolested and unhampered in the management of their business, in determining the amount and quality of their product, and in the use of any methods or systems of pay which are just and equitable.

7. In the interest of employees and employers of the country, no limitation should be placed upon the opportunities of any person to learn any trade to which he or she may be adapted.

8. The National Association of Manufacturers disapproves absolutely of strikes and lockouts, and favors an equitable adjustment of all differences between employers and employees by any amicable method that will preserve the rights of both parties.

9. Employees have the right to contract for their services in a collective capacity, but any contract that contains a stipulation that employment should be denied to men not parties to the contract is an invasion of the constitutional rights of the American workman, is against public policy and is in violation of the conspiracy laws. This Association declares its unalterable antagonism to the closed shop and insists that the doors of no industry be closed against American workmen because of their membership or non-membership in any labor organization.

10. The National Association of Manufacturers pledges itself to oppose any and all legislation not in accord with the foregoing declaration.

The Open Shop. The manufacturers present as their chief point of conflict the question of the open shop. They protest the right of any organization to dictate either to them or to their employees under what conditions of membership in organizations their workers should be employed. The report of the Open Shop Committee of the National Association of Manufacturers emphasized nine points:

1. With the exception of a few key industries the "open shop" condition generally prevails in American industry. The open shop has made great gains the past five years.

2. Those who seek to impose the "closed shop" upon American industry and society are economic reactionaries, since that system under the guilds of former centuries crippled industry and harmed society.

3. The cost of building is one-third greater under closed shop than open shop conditions. Over the country as a whole the additional building cost due to the closed shop is $500,000,000.

4. Clauses put in government appropriation measures at the request

of closed shop unions which prevent the government from using up-to-date efficiency methods, should be eliminated.

5. Clauses which prevent government funds being used to prosecute labor unions for acts which are deemed criminal if performed by other private groups, should be eliminated.

6. The cost to the public of strikes in 1924 was $613,000,000.

7. Strikes in the nine years 1916 to 1924, inclusive, have cost the public over $10,000,000,000—more than 50% greater than the cost of pensions since the Revolutionary War.

8. Union methods and practices and their internal management are the antithesis of democracy—"those who desire to extend the closed shop in industry seek the extension of the principles of monopoly and autocracy."

9. An analysis of closed shop philosophy shows that if put into practice it would "dangerously menace our fundamental American institutions."

The Closed Shop System. The above report declares, in its ninth statement, that the closed shop system, if put into universal practice, would be a menace to fundamental American institutions. They claim that it would limit the rights of the laborer equally with the rights of the employer. The interpretation of the closed shop system by the manufacturers sets forth ten points:

1. Only unionists shall be allowed to work.

2. Unions may unjustly bar or expel workers, who in that case would starve if the closed shop operated fully, but there must be no legislative or public correction of any kind.

3. The wage return to workers shall not be based on the efficiency of the individual, the industry's capacity to pay, or the cost-of-living, but shall be determined primarily by the amount the union can force under its interpretation of "collective bargaining" with general insistence that all those employed on the same task must, regardless of differences in ability, receive the same pay.

4. In endeavors to extend their control, closed shop unions are justified in using any means deemed expedient.

5. A unionist must not even testify to the truth if it will aid an employer in a contention with his union.

6. Contracts between an employer and a union shall bind the former but not the latter.

7. Injunctions issued by courts in labor disputes shall be disregarded.

8. Abuses shall be remedied only by the unions which practice them.

9. The community has no right to control union activities or to insist that it has any legitimate claim to inject itself into labor relations in any manner.

10. Loyalty to the union, a private organization, is placed on a parity with the loyalty every citizen owes the nation.

Labor's Viewpoint. The worker, on the other hand, points out certain illogical conclusions of the manufacturers as well as certain social situations to which the present basis of coöperation between employer and employees is not applicable. He admits, of course, the great waste and cost of strikes, as in all war and conflict. He points out, however, that the responsibility for strikes and unjust conditions lies largely with the employer. He maintains that principles of social justice are more important than money and that in industry as in all past reforms, religious and social, there must be social pressure and social suffering before results are obtained. If it is shown that the cost of building is greater under the closed shop system, then he maintains that the increase is to the advantage of labor and can be afforded by capital; or that under a fairer co-operative system the cost could be reduced. Labor holds that it would much prefer the adjustment of disputes on a peaceful basis, but that the stubbornness of capital and its allegiance to the old methods can be combated only by strong measures. Labor claims that the manufacturers shield their arguments behind phrases and sentiments appealing to American principles and loyalties, while at the same time they violate the essential principles upon which America was founded. In other words, labor accuses capital of being essentially un-American just as capital accuses labor of being radical and un-American. Concerning the closed shop, labor affirms that it is the natural and necessary reaction of labor against both the capitalist and the laborer who for selfish and individualistic reasons hold back from coöperative relationships. The labor unionist holds that the workman who refuses to join in a coöperative way with his fellow-workers for the better ordering of their lives is as selfishly individualistic as the man who refuses to join the efforts of his community and government in the co-operative duties of citizenship. Manifestly, says the laborer, the ideals of organized labor are as valid as those of chambers of commerce, associations of manufacturers, professional groups; and he protests interference with his ideals by employers as vigorously as the employer would protest if labor objected to employers' and professional organizations.

Difficulties and Mistakes. It must be very clear to the student that both groups see, from their different viewpoints, what they consider the essentials of their own welfare and the welfare of the nation. It must be clear, too, that many individuals among the manufacturers and among the laborers are unfair, either from ignorance of the social and economic principles involved or from emotional enthusiasm and devotion to a cause, from inherited and unthought-out premises or from biased or selfish motives. It is often the individual case which causes the most trouble. Here again it must be clear that the whole process is one of continuing adjustment, education and leadership. Nevertheless, it seems probable that so long as there exists unfairness in the distribution of the rewards of labor, dogmatic and stubborn leaders, ignorance and selfishness in high places, conflict will be necessary until the broader principles of education and coöperation can be established. In this field of industrial relationship evidences of "fundamentalism" are quite as abundant as in the field of religious belief. The first essential for the situation is knowledge and understanding, with tolerance and openmindedness a very close second.

A Twofold Responsibility. As would be expected where social situations are difficult and of long standing and where loyalty and allegiance run into emotional channels, and where there is still ignorance of main processes, there will be found many faults on the part of workers and employers. Baker-Crothers and Hudnut have summarized them as follows:

Workers	*Employers*
1. Efforts to secure a monopoly of the labor supply and arbitrarily to control it.	1. Efforts to secure a monopoly of some product and arbitrarily to control it.
2. Restriction of membership and output through:	2. Restriction of membership and output through:
a. Apprenticeship rules.	a. Curtailing production.
b. Sex and race discriminations.	b. Destroying goods produced.
c. Dictation of the machinery and materials which shall be used.	c. Hoarding other goods until they are urgently demanded or practically useless.
d. Objections to piece work.	d. Monopoly control.
e. "Going slow on the job."	

Workers	*Employers*
3. Corruption of union officials.	3. Refusal to adopt new machinery to promote the safety of the public and the workers.
4. Jurisdictional disputes.	4. Lawlessness in strikes.
5. Lawlessness in strikes.	5. Disregard for the public.
6. Disregard for the public.	

Means of Adjustment. The larger means of adjustment between capital and labor may be discussed under three headings. The first and most important is that set forth in the major thesis of this book—the scientific study of the situation and the open-minded attitude. From this will, in time, come education and social adjustment. A second large group of remedies will be found in economic theories of social reform, some moderate, some extreme, but all requiring time and social process. A few of these will be considered as examples. In the meantime, what are the actual technical methods through which practical problems are met, regardless of the rights and wrongs of ultimate theories or the final outcome of the readjustment of life and labor between employer and employee? In general, the methods of adjustment are either by force or by peaceful methods. The chief forceful method, with its various weapons, is the strike, one of the most effective and yet one of the most costly means of adjustment.

The Strike and the Public. In the case of the strike, as in other situations described, there are always the two parties involved; and in addition to the employer and employee there is, in the public and the public welfare, a third party. No matter what the rights involved or the outcome, the public at least always suffers, and usually both the other parties as well. A strike may be voluntary, as when a group of workers band together to force the employer's compliance to their demands. On the other hand, a strike may be involuntary, as when the employer refuses his men work until they comply with certain conditions laid down by him. In each case there may be technical excuses or arguments injected to force the other side to begin the strike. Baker-Crothers and Hudnut give eleven causes of strikes, including wages, hours, union recognition, irregular employment, overtime, methods of payment and employment, holidays, fines, general working conditions, and sympathetic strikes. Various weapons

are used by employers and employees. The employers may use more effectively the press and police force, the injunction, civil writs, hired spies, and their greater reserve power. The laborer, on the other hand, has the employer at his mercy when labor is scarce or must be highly skilled. He may establish pickets and finance families of the strikers. He may use force or intimidation to prevent outside workers from coming in. He may use violence in the destruction of property, and he may carry his case to the public. Here again in each of these instances, the same attitudes exist as exist in the general situation,—namely, individual extremes and means. It has been estimated that the recent coal strike in England cost the public more than a billion dollars. That mistakes were made on both sides is generally admitted. The common question raised is, why cannot society avoid such tragic waste and social conflict?

More Peaceful Means. It is admitted by both employers and employees that the strike should be the last resort and that all other means of adjustment should be used first. Society is apparently making considerable progress towards better adjustment through legislation of various sorts, through organizations and federations, through collective bargaining and arbitration, through efforts to reconcile the open and closed shop, through workers' representation in industry. Each of these efforts has proved both successful and unsuccessful. In general, it is claimed by labor that most shop unions and public welfare plans inaugurated by employers have been too largely controlled by the management and have been promoted by unfair methods. They claim that most experiments in industrial democracy have not been based upon honest dealing. On the other hand, the employer claims that industrial democracy is not possible under conditions demanded by the employees who, not having any large invested capital or risk and being ignorant of the economic principles and the value of management, assume unreasonable prerogatives. Certainly both of these statements have an abundance of fact to justify them. It must be clear to the student that if there be essential merit in any of the plans for enabling the worker to share in industry, these plans should be studied and tried out again and again.

The Government and Industry. When employer and employee

cannot get together, and when social injustice or waste or suffering on the part of the public is large, the government must become the third party to the adjustment. The simplest form of governmental mediation is labor legislation, through which the worker may secure his maximum deserts. The government may coöperate through local and state boards of various sorts. The national Department of Labor acts in such ways as it can, and there are certain federal regulations of labor conditions and provisions for coöperation. There is always the possibility of government advice through arbitration and conference. In the case of public utilities the government may assume control which approaches compulsion. During the war the federal government assumed larger control in many instances, and in the case of the railroads gave an example of complete government operation of a large public utility. This example may be used as an argument both for and against government ownership of railroads and major utilities. It is a common assumption on the part of many advocates of one policy or another that unless the employer and employee can get together and work out more reasonable adjustments the only alternative will be an approach to state socialism in the governmental direction and control of our largest industries. The student of political science as well as the student of social problems must in the near future address himself to a scientific inquiry into the extent to which government may interest itself in business and in the control of industrial-social relationships.

Economic Theories of Reform. The idealist and social philosopher, from experience and contemplation of the difficulties involved in new adjustments, comes easily to propose theories of sweeping change and reform. The most important of such theories of economic and governmental reform is that of Marxian socialism, with its various subtheories, each maintaining that the only solution of the industrial problem lies in the overthrow of the capitalistic system. This theory premises that economic life dominates all other modes of society and is responsible for social character and historical trend. The theory is based upon the belief that class struggle is inevitable under our dual organization of capital and labor, and that the concentration of wealth has always resulted and always will result in a small and wealthy

class gaining control of the world. Many forms of socialism have arisen and the extreme left wing may be seen in our present militant communism. Other extreme forms include anarchism, which looks forward to freedom from the evils of modern society by the elimination of government and of force. Syndicalism seeks to bring about social reform by means of strike, boycott, label, and sabotage, in which violence to property is of common occurrence. Later developments of these various theories may be found in communism and sovietism as advocated in Russia, with their varying forms and reflections that have been promoted under the bolshevist régime.

Limitations of Theories. In a number of previous instances we have called attention to the importance of making social control and democratic government as broad as human interests and human life itself. And we have insisted that knowledge of the whole basic social processes and social forces must constitute the foundations upon which the democratic process is to be built. The essential defects of most wholesale theories of reform fall largely within two categories. In the first place, they tend to conform to the qualities of religion and philosophy rather than to social organization and social science. Like religion and philosophy, they embody valuable human principles and will succeed in large ways in stimulating social thought and social progress. These enthusiastic theories of reform nevertheless represent, in the second place, only a part of the whole field of human activity; and, being based upon religion rather than science, and upon a part rather than the whole of life, must be studied as of this nature. It must be clear to the student that it is much more important to study carefully the merits of each of these systems than it is to abuse their advocates or prevent their dissemination. What is needed is the same critical study of each of these theories of reform as we give to our modern American democratic institutions and likewise the same critical and coöperative study of our own government as we give to other systems.

Inequalities and Maladjustments. Although it must be clear that many of the inequalities of life and many of the prevailing social maladjustments arise because of the unequal distribution of wealth, the student must inquire into other causes and processes before he can determine upon final policies and programs. Al-

though poverty and lack of opportunity for gainful employment are large factors in producing these inequalities, there are other basic causes as well. Although some of the grounds of inefficiency, crime, vice, defectiveness and other social evils are found in industrial maladjustment, there are other elements to be sought in general heredity and environment, as well as in individual and social differences. What the student of industry and industrial relations must needs do, therefore, is to study and interpret this problem in relation to the larger social problem of adjustment and development. Here again the student must bring to bear upon his problem the sciences of government, of economics, of sociology, and the other social sciences through which the scientific study of society may be carried on. Through these he will discover the extent and nature of other social deficiencies, will find something of their causes, will correlate them with other situations and work out his programs accordingly.

Education and Industry. If we are to accept the statement, made earlier in this chapter, that misunderstanding lies at the bottom of much of the maladjustment between employer and employee, the school and education of the future can be expected to contribute much to the future readjustment. This contribution of the school will be of two general sorts. One will be the actual work of the school in vocational guidance and training, and the other will be the interpretation, through school and education and public opinion, of the needs of both industry and society. There is, however, growing up a tendency for industry to misunderstand the school with its newer curriculum, and especially the universities and colleges in their efforts toward industrial research. A recent study by educators, made in the Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company and published by the National Personnel Association of New York, listed nineteen criticisms of industry by those engaged in public school work and eleven criticisms of the schools by those engaged in industrial work. The criticisms of industry were:

1. Use of the machine tool decreases the necessity for education and training.
2. Specialization narrows the lives of the workers.
3. Industry is too commercialized, it looks at education from a selfish standpoint instead of a social standpoint.

4. Industry will not coöperate in supplying information regarding its requirements.

5. Industry does not know what its requirements are.

6. The corporation schools are too narrow, they look only to the immediate advantage to industry.

7. Industries do not encourage students to stay in school by offering greater compensation to those who have had more schooling.

8. Industries are only willing to coöperate when they are in trouble.

9. Industry is not willing to coöperate with the public schools in furnishing part-time employment for students.

10. Those interested in the personnel of industry seldom visit the schools to become familiar with what is being done, they rather think of schools as they were when they were students.

11. The industries have made little effort to furnish information to the schools regarding their various processes, organizations, etc.

12. Industry is undemocratic.

13. Industry has not made it easy for those engaged in teaching to acquire first-hand knowledge of industrial processes.

14. The outstanding weakness of corporation schools is their lack of properly trained teachers.

15. Corporation schools, as well as public and private vocational schools, need to be keenly alive to the fact that when they take a man into an establishment they take the whole man . . . something else in addition to a physical man or an economic man.

16. Corporation schools should open up courses of study which will not only produce better workmen but which will enable their workmen to make better use of their leisure hours and to more effectively discharge their duties as citizens.

17. The industries fail to make adequate use of their right to make specific demands upon the public schools.

18. There are a million and a half of American boys and girls bent beneath the burden of premature toil in mine, and mill and factory before they have sensed the duties and privileges of humanity.

19. Industry "grows" products rather than men and women.

Criticism of the Schools. On the other hand, there were many criticisms of the school by those engaged in industrial work. Concerning some of these criticisms both school men and industrial folk agree, and many of the difficulties are being worked out. It must be clear, however, that one of the essential problems of society is to get its industry and its education together. The following criticisms are typical:

1. The schools retard the development of the brightest student in favor of the group.

2. The schools are trying to cover too much ground, with the result that the students lack thoroughness.

3. Graduates from our public schools have considerable information but they do not seem to have developed habits of accuracy, neatness, concentration, industry and how to study.

4. The schools are too self-centered, they do not keep in touch with the changing requirements of the environments with which their graduates will have to cope.

5. The schools seem more interested in teaching their students how to enjoy the privileges of life than they are in teaching them to work and assume responsibilities.

6. The schools are allowing athletics, dances, and extraschool activities to interfere seriously with the constructive development of their students.

7. The majority of students are not given sufficient exercise properly to develop their bodies.

8. Graduates of the high schools do not have the proper attitude toward work, they are seeking "white collar" jobs rather than going in for the more fundamental trades.

9. The teachers in general do not seem to appreciate the cultural value of English, economics, and shop work as compared with Latin and Greek.

10. A good many of the higher-grade students hesitate to take up work in industry because they have observed that the students with inferior mental equipment are generally segregated for industrial work.

11. The public school teachers are not interested in industrial affairs and do not appreciate the extent to which the welfare of all depends on industry.

FOR FURTHER STUDY

For Information

1. Catalogue causes, historical and current, of the conflict between capital and labor.
2. Distinguish between the open shop and closed shop policies.
3. What was the cost to the public of strikes in 1924 as stated by the Open Shop Committee of the National Association of Manufacturers? What was the cost to the workers?

4. Define the chief current economic theories of social reform commonly discussed.
5. Give examples of noted strikes with their causes.

For Stimulating Thought

6. Why has there been greater hostility to organization of labor than to that of physicians, lawyers, and other professional groups? Is opposition decreasing?
7. From a scientific viewpoint, what is the most plausible means of adjustment between capital and labor?
8. What are some of the basic factors which most theories of reform have overlooked? From the viewpoint of science why is ultraradicalism likely to be unsound?
9. Why has there not been greater coöperation between school and industry?
10. What are some of the illogical conclusions and attitudes of both employer and employee?

For Research and Creative Writing

11. Write the story of "hearsay" evidence against the Russian experiment in Sovietism.
12. Make a study of a half dozen experiments in industrial democracy.
13. Study the records of ten great strikes, emphasizing propaganda used by employers and employees.
14. What were some of the net results of the British coal and general strike?
15. Tabulate "gains" and "losses" in the last decade of labor and capital relationships.

For Practical Application

16. Work out a program for greater coöperation between school and industry.
17. Give evidence of the successful working out of a program for the peaceful arbitration of labor disputes, *e. g.*, the amalgamated clothing workers.
18. Discuss the methods of the "dominant" personality of leaders of capital and labor.
19. Can the South avoid the mistakes of industrial strife made by England and New England?

20. Make concrete application of the plan for industrial democracy to a particular industry.

For Continuity of Effort

21. What is the status of labor organizations in the local state? What is the prevailing attitude toward organized labor?
22. What efforts are being made toward workers' education?
23. Make a study of the social work or "welfare" activities in local industries.
24. Are the programs of the Federal Council of Churches effective in the local state?
25. What is the status of workmen's compensation laws in the local state?

For Effective Reading

26. For special study: Beard's *Short History of the American Labor Movement*, Lewisohn's *The New Leadership in Industry*, Blum's *Labor Economics*, Chapters XVII–XXIII of Baker-Crothers and Hudnut's *Problems of Citizenship*, Brook's *Labor's Challenge to the Social Order*.
27. For sampling or exhaustive reading: Ashwith, Atkins, Baker, E. F., Baker, R. S., Beard, Beer, Benedict, Blum, Boucke, Bowie, Brasol, Brookings, Brooks, J. G., Calder, Carlton, Carroll, M. R., Carter, Chenery, Commons, Crowther, Dell, Desmond, Feld, Fitch, J. A., Furniss, Gleason, Gompers, McDonald, J. R., Robertson, D. H., Watkins.

CHAPTER XXIX

MALADJUSTMENT AND SOCIAL WASTE

Social Pathology a Special Field. The penalty for inadequacy of social guidance throughout the history of mankind has been general maladjustment, individual tragedy and abnormality, and social pathology and waste. Since the purpose and spirit of this book is to present the whole picture of social problems integrated somewhat into a theoretical analysis, rather than deficiencies by which society is now being penalized, the treatment of these problems is limited to a simple descriptive outline. And the whole field of social pathology is so large and important that it must take its place alongside other special fields of social study and social work for technical and extended treatment. Outstanding volumes, such as Gillin's *Poverty and Dependency* and *Crime and Penology* are evidence of the range and substance of such study. Companion volumes to be presented in the American Social Science Series, such as Kelso's *The Science of Public Welfare*, Steiner's *The Community in Action: Case Studies of American Communities;* Thurston and Carstens' *Processes and Programs of Child Welfare*, and others, are indicative of the very important specialized tasks just ahead. Nevertheless the story of man's efforts toward social adjustment and guidance must necessarily give a great deal of emphasis to the manifold problems of social pathology and the tragedies of maladjustment. They should be presented as an essential and organic part of the products of society's evolution. They should be presented as evidence of the increasing need for the study of social problems and of more scientific social guidance. And they should be presented in at least comprehensive outline as a basis for the interpretation of much of social work and social guidance of the future. This chapter, therefore, in accordance with the plan of the book limits its content and method to these objectives.

A Cross Section of Complex Society. One of the best ways to obtain a picture of current types of social maladjustment and waste is to look at cross sections of the most complex, rapidly developed

and artificial units of society. Such a unit is found in a large city such as New York. Here will be found evidences of both the failures of society and of the tasks of guidance for the present and future. The Welfare Council of New York has presented such an analysis in its reorganization of the major social efforts of the city. Says their statement released on May 3, 1927: "Convinced that the fundamental causes of crime, poverty, ill-health, maladjustment and dependency can be permanently reduced or eradicated only through the coördinated effort of all the public and private social agencies of the city, 332 of the leading welfare bodies have organized themselves into ten sections of the Welfare Council of New York and machinery has been created for enlisting the remaining 900 agencies." And the statement of Mr. William Hodgson, executive director of the Council, presents the picture still more vividly.

> The people of America are always ready to give unstintingly of their money and personal services in any great emergency, whether it takes place in the Mississippi Valley, Japan, or in Russia. In these great tragedies, human distress is always before us in a most dramatic way, the immediate needs are obvious and throughout the country millions of people get the thrill of helping relieve human suffering that comes with giving of funds in such emergencies. If it were only possible to assemble together all of New York City's cases of tragic death, illness, destitution, and disease; all of the homeless and decrepit; all of the dispossessed and broken families; if it were possible to assemble in one spot the entire problem of the 1,200 social agencies of New York City it would, I believe, be seen that we are confronted here throughout the year with a disaster as great as that extending up and down the Mississippi Valley today.

Adjustment and Readjustment. In our earlier statements concerning fundamental social problems we placed special emphasis upon the problems of adjustment and readjustment. A fundamental process of all organic life as well as of human society is that of adjustment. In the modern world this problem assumes more acute proportions, because of rapid economic and social change. In a later chapter we shall discuss social work as a directing process of adjustment. In previous chapters we have discussed the problem of the individual in adjusting himself to society in such way as to attain the good life. We have discussed the problem

of adjustment between races, immigrants, and groups. Likewise, the difficulties which modern youth finds in adjusting himself to the new era have been stressed and preliminary inquiries have been made into the problems of readjustment on the part of the modern woman. Similarly, the difficulties of adjustment in the modern family and community have been pointed out. In the two previous chapters we called attention to the history and development of industry and to a certain lack of proper adjustment between employer and employee. In each of these instances the essential problem is one of constant readjustment in the course of normal social evolution. There are, however, still other problems of adjustment which assume an even more serious aspect in that they have their origin, structure, and extent in the very foundations of society. These problems are concerned with those individuals and groups commonly classified as the socially deficient. From these come many of society's most difficult problems and the need for most of its social work.

The Socially Deficient. It has long been customary to classify society's socially deficient in three large groups. Those who are dependent upon society for support constitute the general basis for the study of *poverty and dependency*. Those who are defective in body, mind, and group sufficiency make necessary the special study of *social pathology*. Those who tend to be deficient in general morality and law-abidingness form the subject of the study of *criminology and penology*. It must be clear, however, that there is much overlapping in each of these classes, both in causes, treatment, and significance. It is, therefore, quite fitting to include the whole group in the larger field of social pathology. The study of poverty must necessarily tie in very closely with our previous chapters on the economic and industrial situation. The study of defectives will be found closely interrelated with the whole study of the individual in his inheritance and his environment. The study of delinquency reveals much interrelation between family and society and the various institutions and forces discussed in this volume. There are, as well, other general forms and results of social maladjustment which we may study under the general head of social waste.

Economic Causes of Poverty. It is appropriate to begin the discussion of poverty and dependency by referring to the common

explanation of poverty, which is that it results from economic maladjustments. The first of the four main economic causes as listed by Professor Gillin forms one of the bases of the Marxian socialism. According to this theory capital is unwilling to pay labor more than a bare subsistence, and this results not only in the poverty of the laborer, but in the concentration of wealth. Henry George's theory was that poverty was due to the unequal distribution of land, the rent of which is taken by the small number of owners, leaving the great mass of humanity to draw income from their labor only. This has been listed as among the important problems of society in our previous chapter. Adam Smith and other English economists attributed a large part of pauperism to the English poor laws, while Malthus ascribed it to too large families. Spencer thought much of poverty was due to the fact that a considerable portion of the population was made up of individuals less fitted to survive, who thus constituted a sort of species of the unfit. According to Spencer, therefore, poverty is a natural product of the action and reaction of economic and physical forces and is an economy of nature to bring about the survival of the fittest.

Other Causes of Poverty. There have been, however, many causes other than economic ascribed as explanations of poverty. Among the first of these was the religious explanation. Poverty, like disease and misfortune, has been attributed to the displeasure of the gods; or later, as in the Hebrew dispensation, has been held to be a penalty for sin. Slothfulness in all the great religions and proverbs has naturally been made a forerunner of poverty. Later explanations, while still holding that an individual's present condition may be traced directly to his deserts, recognize social injustice as a contributing cause. Heredity has also been supposed an important cause, and recent studies of eugenics and social pathology have accentuated this theory. Other explanations of poverty center around the fault of the individual: he is sinful or lazy, or he is unworthy, or he is addicted to drink, or he is the slave of drug habits. Dexter classifies all causes of poverty into five groups, dealing respectively with *physical environment*, *biological factors*, *economic factors*, *political factors*, and *societal-psychological factors*.

Complicated Social Causes. While all of these factors are important in the explanation of poverty it is clear to the student that they leave much to be desired. Even where the fault lies with the

individual, there are the elements of social heredity and environment which have come to him from a society in which maladjustment has played an important part. In a previous chapter we have emphasized the fact that whenever an individual has failed in life some one or more of the institutions have failed him in his hour of need. The student is already concluding from a study of the previous chapters that poverty, like other phases of social deficiency, must necessarily be closely interrelated with all the factors and forces around which the discussions of this volume center. Thus, too, Professor Gillin concludes: "The physical environment, the varying natural endowments of individuals, hereditary defects, over-population, maladjustment of production and distribution, social maladjustment such as inadequate education, lack of proper hygiene, etc.—all these must be invoked in order to explain poverty. Thus, the modern theory of the causes of poverty has passed beyond any one-sided explanation to a many-sided theory. Poverty is a phenomenon much more complex than the earlier theorists imagined it to be."

Classes of Dependents. The two most important classes of dependents are those representing the extremes of the age cycle—little children on the one hand, the aged and infirm on the other. For each of these classes society has made great progress in the working out of conditions which approximate the normal home. For children treatment has changed from the old institutional mechanics to home conditions in the institution or child-placing in private homes. In the case of dependent children and of the aged and infirm both outdoor and indoor relief seek to furnish home conditions and normal activities with suitable medical and hygienic facilities. Other special classes of the socially dependent include the insane, the epileptic, the feeble-minded, the dependent sick, the crippled and disabled, the unemployed, members of broken homes, and restless wanderers. Each of these groups constitutes a vital problem in the whole of society's development, involving as they do the quality of the individual, the nature and size of population, and the wealth and welfare of society at large. Dexter concludes that an average of the various estimates would show at least 10 per cent of the population of the United States to be subsisting on a margin of income over the minimum standard which would allow nothing for savings or sudden emergencies. The

reduction of this group, therefore, to the smallest possible number and their scientific and humane treatment constitute important tasks of social study and social work.

Treatment and Remedies. The treatment of the socially deficient is largely a technique of social work and public welfare. The elimination of the causes of dependency, however, and the working out of larger social policies require all that the social sciences can contribute. For poverty and dependency are the results of social maladjustment. Professor Gillin, in his *Poverty and Dependency*, lists eleven main types of preventive agents and methods. He discusses remedies and agencies under the general heads of relief and prevention, socialized relief, socialized neighborliness, socialized health programs, socialized education, socialized recreation, socialized religion, socialized property, efficient administration, population and poverty, and the place of science in the study and treatment of poverty and dependency. Socialized charity, Professor Gillin says, is intelligent charity, coöperative charity, administered by skilled workers, with adequate relief, with reconstructive methods, with preventive objectives, with sympathetic attitudes, and scientific backgrounds. Thus the student comes again to find his problem the larger problem of social study, to be followed by scientific and poised programs of social policy.

Family Disorganization. Closely related to the whole problem of dependency is that of family disorganization, which in the modern world is assuming the rôle of a major problem. Many of the biographies of the modern "bad man" and maladjusted individuals reveal an early basis of family disorganization. It must be clear from our previous study of the functions of the family and its place in society that family disorganization will result in abnormal conditions and personal demoralization. It is a strange paradox that no really comprehensive studies of the American family have been made. We have pointed out in earlier chapters how marriage and the family, as functional parts of life, have been neglected by education. In much the same way the fundamental studies of American family disorganization have not yet been begun. Even studies of divorce have been incomplete. Other questions to be studied include historical and hereditary backgrounds, economic opportunity, education, desertion, nonsupport, separation. A recent commendable effort in this direction

has resulted in the publication of *Family Disorganization* by Ernest R. Mowrer. Some of the important topics which he treats are the world-wide increase in divorce, special studies of divorce in urban communities, family disorganization as a process, social forces and family disorganization, the control of family disorganization, and the analysis of various situations through case studies and classification. He lists five main factors in family disorganization, including *cultural background, ecological factors, personality traits, conception of family life,* and *rationalizations.*

Personal Demoralization and Delinquency. Out of family disorganization not only arises dependency but also delinquency and the beginnings of general maladjustment to society. Solenberger's *One Thousand Homeless Men* is an excellent study of many phases of social maladjustment. We have already referred to Dexter's *Children Astray* and Thomas' *The Maladjusted Girl* as source examples of demoralization and maladjustment. Jack Black, in his interesting autobiography *You Can't Win,* emphasizes the deficiency element in his own life due to the early disorganization of his family. Throughout his story will be found influences pointing toward his later career in the lack of unity, direction, and home life of his earlier years. Thus the approach to the whole study of delinquency and criminology, especially as it relates to juvenile delinquency, may be found in the study of family disorganization, which may be cited here as the first basic cause of crime and the problem it raises.

Other Causes of Crime. Few, if any, social problems have received more attention in recent years than crime and the criminal. There has been a tendency to speak of crime waves, and various commissions and committees have undertaken to study the crime situation in the United States. A large number of articles and books have been contributed to this field and some new approaches have been made. As with poverty and dependency, the causes of crime are varied. In the first place, they must be considered, at least to some extent, in connection with the meanings of the word. There are legal definitions of crime; these are moral concepts, and religious standards. The juvenile offender is different from the hardened criminal. The multiplication of modern laws, as for instance those relating to speeding, the crossing of railroads, and other actions due to the multiplication of

traffic contacts, give rise to offenses entirely different in nature from those committed by the modern bank robber. In this chapter we think of the criminal as one of the chief products of maladjustment and of social waste, so that we shall seek causes in the larger backgrounds of society. The earliest society attributed some evil spirit to the criminal, and this belief has persisted and finds its counterpart in the modern psychological explanation of crime in terms of repression, complexes, and hidden forces. Lombroso, a noted Italian criminologist, held that the criminal was born and that he could be recognized by certain bodily stigmata, such as special shape of the skull, facial contour, length of arms, and other physical characteristics. This theory is in direct contrast to much of the modern explanation of crime as due to environmental forces. For now the broken home and conflicting social forces are given as the cause of many crimes. Other causes include the stimulus and excitement of modern society with the love of adventure, of wealth, of conflict, thus combining personal traits and social surroundings. And again, the causes of crime may be found indirectly in maladjustment at home, a quarrel with parents or with teachers. Other causes ascribed are mental disease and abnormal personality, together with various physical handicaps. Still others attribute crime to the massed influence of neighborhood or gang; others to poverty and inequality; others to social injustice; others to alcohol and drugs; and still others to the alleged inhuman treatment of crime and criminals.

Extent of Crime. The study of modern crime is revealing many new facts and viewpoints. As in the case of other social problems, some of the findings are frankly contradictory. In spite of the common assumption of a very large increase in crime, some studies give evidence that if offenses against traffic and prohibition are excluded the relative amount of crime has decreased. In North Carolina, for instance, a state-wide study made by the Institute for Research in Social Science shows in its preliminary report a relatively large increase in the total number of offenses but a decreasing ratio if violations of the prohibition and traffic laws are excluded. It shows also a relative decreasing ratio between whites and Negroes, for the most part. Nevertheless, it is generally admitted that the number of crimes in the United States relative to population, is larger than in other countries. Professor Dexter

quotes Mr. Veiller as saying that robbery is 100 times as prevalent in Chicago as in London, and that while there were 389 homicides in Chicago alone in 1923, all of England and Wales reported only 147 in 1921. He estimates that there were 11,000 Americans killed in crimes of violence in 1924 and that the cost is from three to ten billion dollars, more than enough to run the entire federal government. In this connection the student will need to study the causes of crime as found in increased legislation restricting personal liberties and growing out of the rapid urbanization and industrialization of society.

Treatment and Remedies. Any study of the remedies and treatment of crime must necessarily be closely related to the larger studies of social backgrounds and social classes. For instance, the remedy for crime among immigrants and its treatment must be studied with their historical and social heritage in mind. The study of Negro criminals in Memphis, Tennessee, for example, or in other southern towns will reveal that the nature of their offenses ranges from mere loafing to homicide. Likewise, the relation of crime in the city to opportunity for criminal offense should be considered alongside different situations in the country. Again, the fact that the median age of offenders is from twenty-one to twenty-five years, varying from place to place, indicates very definite problems of treatment as well as of prevention. So also differences in the number of arrests between men and women for sex offenses, where men are given the lighter treatment, indicate another basis for remedy. Thus we come again to look at crime as an extreme expression of social maladjustment to be remedied largely by the broader study of social conditions and the better planning of social guidance.

Punishment of Crime. Theories and methods for the treatment of crime, as of poverty, have varied widely. The earliest theories were those of punishment and retribution. "An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth" were the first criteria; and the nature of the punishment was made to fit the nature of the offense. From these theories have grown up the other theories of punishing the individual to protect society and to frighten would-be offenders into compliance with the law. From these have come the later theories which hold that a main function of the treatment of the criminal is to reform or correct him and to restore him again to

normal life and citizenship. Growing out of the more modern theories have come the modern methods of treatment, the more humane surroundings, civic and educational efforts on behalf of prisoners, prison industries, more intelligent prison management, and ameliorative efforts on behalf of the prisoner's family. Social legislation, voluntary study and effort on the part of citizen committees, and programs of social work and public welfare have all contributed to the present advanced treatment of crime and criminals. Professor Dexter discusses the means for treatment and prevention of crime under the general heads: the police, city and rural, methods of arrest and treatment, the jail, courts, corporal punishment, the loss of civil rights, the fine, capital punishment, probation, the indeterminate sentence, the prison. In all of these, modern society is finding grounds for criticism and improvement. There is need of a new attitude on the part of the public toward the police and of better training for the police force. There is need for revision of the steps taken from the time of arrest to the imprisonment of an offender. There is need for the adjustment of courts and court methods to modern situations. There is a general tendency to recommend the elimination of corporal punishment and of capital punishment. Probation based upon the suspended sentence, which attempts to give the prisoner another chance is being emphasized more and more; and few subjects have received more study, discussion, and agitation than the whole prison system, which in the future will tend to be divided into specialized institutions for juveniles, for women offenders, for defectives, for the insane, and for other special classes of offenders.

Mental Defectives. The study of poverty and dependency on the one hand and of crime and delinquency on the other has shown a very close correlation between the mentally defective and the socially deficient. The theory that the criminal is a mentally sick person has found much to substantiate it in statistics showing the relation between mentality and criminality, especially in the case of certain types of youth and sex offenders. In other ways the mental defective reveals one of the most acute forms of social maladjustment and one of the most tragic evidences of social waste. Here again, as with poverty and crime, theories, explanations, and tendencies have varied widely. The earlier theories attributed mental weakness to demoniacal powers and witchcraft.

In modern times a new emphasis has beeen placed upon mental disease. If the mind of man, being more sensitive and more important than the body, becomes sick, is it not, therefore, fully as necessary to treat it with sympathy, understanding, and scientific methods? Again, mental sickness being subject to more violent manifestations and more marked hereditary transmission, may have larger implications for society than physical sickness. Thus has grown up the larger interest in mental health and hygiene, resulting in one of the major movements of social study and social work. Thus, too, has grown up a comprehensive system of institutions for the treatment of the mentally defective and an increasing body of information dealing with causes and cures.

The Extent and Distribution of Mental Deficiency. Gillin, in his *Poverty and Dependency*, considers the mentally deficient under three large heads: the insane, the epileptic, and the feeble-minded. He estimates that in the United States in 1923 there were 267,617 persons in institutions for the insane, with probably almost as many outside of institutions. He believes, from studies made in different American states, that there is probably about one epileptic to every 500 inhabitants of the United States. A much larger group of mentally deficient is the class for which the general term feeble-minded is used. The lowest grade, or idiot, is rated as having practically no intelligence; the imbeciles range from a mental age of three to seven years; while the third or highest grade of feeble-minded are commonly called morons, with an estimated intelligence of from eight to fourteen years. The introduction of intelligence tests and the profession of psychiatry has set this problem of the feeble-minded out in bold relief. Estimates of the number of feeble-minded vary. Professor Gillin quotes Dr. Walter Fernald, Superintendent of the Massachusetts State School for the Feeble-minded, as estimating four feeble-minded persons to each thousand of the general population; while estimates based upon the army tests would give 5,285,000 for the United States.

Treatment of the Socially Deficient. Perhaps no phase of social maladjustment is more tragic than the social waste involved in these millions of mentally deficient. We must not only study and attack conditions which produce mental disease but we must

meet the immediate problem of treatment of those who are already mentally deficient. In this there is also a large problem for general education. There is general agreement that the treatment of the insane can be best worked out through intelligent supervision of institutions, through the coöperation of state and unofficial public welfare and social work, through clinics of various sorts, and special consideration given to medical and psychiatric social work. The best treatment for epileptics will be found in the colony system, which tends to cure the largest proportion, furnishes the maximum comfort and education, provides for best treatment and research, and prevents reproduction by means of segregation. The care and treatment of the feeble-minded is a larger problem. The present tendency emphasizes institutional, colony, and parole care and supervision on the one hand and prevention on the other. The government itself, through state departments of public welfare, must be largely responsible because of the legal aspects involved, the question of rights of the individual and of families, and the protection of the public. The fact that thousands of feeble-minded are grouped throughout the land in almshouses and still other thousands scattered at large accentuates the problem of treatment in America. The care of the feeble-minded becomes, therefore, one of the most urgent tasks of social work and public welfare.

Other Forms of Social Waste. Among the other larger factors of social waste and maladjustment are those of old age and physical handicap. We have called attention already to the increase in the span of life effected through modern health and hygienic measures. Thus the treatment of the aged becomes a problem that is constantly growing greater. Dexter shows that the percentage of the total population of the United States over sixty-five years of age increased, between 1880 and 1920, from 3.5 to 4.7. Hence, there are at the present time probably more than 5,000,000 individuals in this country over sixty-five years of age. Society is coming to face the rather disgraceful situation in which normal old age has been a chief cause of social maladjustment and individual suffering. Thousands of worthy older individuals, separated from family, herded in almshouses and county homes, have seemed to reflect the disgrace of age rather than its honor. Poverty, ill health, mental troubles, unemployment,

loss of status, loss of freedom, and all the other accompanying mishaps have been the portion of the old and infirm. In addition to this, the system of care has been unreasonable and expensive.

Another large group of the maladjusted and socially deficient are the blind, the deaf, and the crippled. The number of blind is generally reported to be decreasing, the 1920 Census showing 52,500 as opposed to 57,217 in 1910. Society has made great advances not only in the treatment and education of the blind but in the prevention of blindness, eliminating many causes of both disease and accident. On the other hand, the number of deaf persons has increased from 34,426 in 1910 to 45,200 in 1920. Here prevention is more slow, because it is estimated that not more than 2 per cent of deafness is due to accident. Finally, a much larger group of the maladjusted and dependent is found in the large number of cripples, estimated by Dexter as more than 600,000 maimed in industry, in addition to almost 1,500,000 other disabled persons. Here again great advance has been made in the treatment and especially in the education of cripples.

Illness and Health. Social waste and maladjustment are found not only in the millions of social, mental, and physical defectives, but among the great mass of the population who are handicapped because of ill health or disease. We have already observed that the death rate is decreasing. Dexter estimates, judging from an investigation of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, that each day there are at least 2,000,000 persons disabled by illness to such a degree that they cannot work. He quotes Moore as determining the money cost of disease to be approximately five billions of dollars, much of which is preventable. The greatest agents of social waste through illness and disease are influenza and pneumonia, rheumatism, nervous diseases, digestive diseases, tuberculosis, heart disease. On the other hand, a very large social waste comes through the venereal diseases, upon which society is now making a renewed attack through modern science and hygiene, public education in the schools, and through such agencies as the National Social Hygiene Association. Likewise, great advance has been made in the treatment and prevention of tuberculosis, as well as of smallpox, typhoid fever, yellow fever, infant diseases, and others. Finally, another large source of social drain is found in alcoholism and drugs. In

both of these instances there has been national and international study of the situation. In the United States the great experiment of prohibition is yet scarcely begun, and the Council of the League of Nations has adopted resolutions restricting the production of opium. Against all these problems of physical defects and ill health society has set itself with tremendous energy and vigor to increase programs of health. Health in the schools, in the community, in industry, for America, together with international movements for health instruction and promotion throughout the world, constitute one of the major social efforts of the time.

The Tragedy of Social Waste. The tragedy of social waste is reflected not only by its sheer quantity but in its organic undermining of the very foundations of society. Infant mortality, thwarted childhood, drained motherhood, broken minds and bodies, maladjusted old age, misuse of appetities need no vivid pictures to portray their significance. We have referred to the waste of industrial accidents, ill health, disease, and crime. There is waste in the twenty-nine persons lynched in 1926, the sixteen in 1925, the sixteen in 1924, the thirty-three in 1923, the fifty-seven in 1922. Three recent studies have illuminated other phases of social waste. Stuart Chase, in *The Tragedy of Social Waste*, has discussed this subject under the four general headings of wasted man-power in the production of non-essentials, idleness, bad technical methods, and the squandering of natural resources. In contrast to wealth, he adopts for harmful non-essentials Ruskin's term *illth*, of which he lists ten forms. These he names as the military establishment, harmful drugs, commercialized vice, adulteration of commodities, institutional speculation, quackery, super-luxuries, super-fashions, and certain aspects of advertising, commercialized and professional services. In his idle man power he finds ten principal losses due to seasonal, cyclical, and residual unemployment, turnover losses, strikes and lockouts, preventable accidents and sickness, absenteeism, and lost labor of the idle rich and the hobo. In his technical waste he finds failure in coördination, duplication, restriction, bankruptcy, lack of standardized practices, internal management, lack of cost systems, secret processes, and uneconomical distribution. The waste of natural resources includes coal, water power, oil, natural gas, mineral ores, timber, soil, animal life, by-products.

A similar study of waste has been made by Lorine Pruette, in her *Women and Leisure;* while L. R. Bower presents a picturesque indictment in his *Economic Waste of Sin.* It should be clear that the problem of maladjustment and social waste must be considered not as an aggregation of separate items, but in connection with the larger field of social direction. In our next chapter we shall, therefore, begin the study of social guidance through social planning.

FOR FURTHER STUDY

For Information

1. Into what three groups are the socially deficient usually classified?
2. What have been some of the theories of the economic causes of poverty?
3. What other causes may be mentioned?
4. List causes of crime.
5. Name other forms of social waste.

For Stimulating Thought

6. What is the modern tendency and emphasis upon treatment of the criminal? Criticize.
7. Is the actual increase in crime as great as it seems to be? Why?
8. What have the social sciences contributed to the understanding and treatment of the insane?
9. Why has not mental illness been viewed in the same light as physical illness?
10. What, in your judgment, has been the social gain from national prohibition in the United States?

For Research and Creative Writing

11. Outline a plan for the study of prohibition in the United States, with detailed treatment of source material.
12. Sketch the early efforts toward prison reform in a local state.
13. Outline experiments of democracy and self-government which have been made in penal institutions.
14. Write out case studies of a dozen inmates of county homes or almshouses.
15. Make a chart showing classification of social waste.

For Practical Application

16. List criminal offenses which were not known fifty years ago.
17. What has been done toward the teaching of a trade or industrial pursuit to prisoners?
18. Describe methods of treatment for dependent children. Compare with methods in your community.
19. Outline a plan for taking care of backward children. Adapt it to a particular school system.
20. Outline a program looking toward refitting the criminal for normal life and citizenship after prison days.

For Continuity of Effort

21. What provisions have been made in your state for taking care of the dependent aged and infirm?
22. How many state hospitals are there for the mentally defective?
23. Review the scope of the activities of the National Social Hygiene Association.
24. Read Lorine Pruette's study of social waste, *Women and Leisure*. To what extent is it applicable to your community?
25. In a given city, list the agencies and organizations contributing to poor relief.

For Effective Reading

26. For special study: Dexter's *Social Adaptation*, Gillin's *Poverty and Dependency*, Thrasher's *The Gang*, Chase's *The Tragedy of Waste*, Queen and Mann's *Social Pathology*, Fisher's *Prohibition at its Worst.*
27. For sampling or exhaustive reading: Barnes, H. E., Bower, Chase, Darrow, Dexter, Galloway, Gillin, Osborne, Parmelee, Pruette, Queen, Stutsman, Sullivan, Sutherland, Williams, F. E.

CHAPTER XXX

SOCIAL PLANNING

Objectives of Social Planning. We may introduce the subject of social planning with two representative viewpoints, one embodying a rather practical application as set forth in a popular way by Governor Alfred E. Smith of New York, and the other the technical teleology of Lester F. Ward. Says Governor Smith: "We cannot ever again permit the future growth of the State to be accidental. It must be planned to serve the interests of every man, woman, and child and to give opportunity for a fuller and finer life, and not for the benefit of privileged groups. The planning of communities and the planning of the State is probably the greatest undertaking we have before us." The more academic concept of social planning was perhaps inaugurated by Lester F. Ward in his recognition of the need for social guidance. As Professor Dealey interprets Ward in our *American Masters of Social Science*, "Social control in its highest manifestation becomes social or collective telesis. Telesis implies that the social ends to be attained are well known and that the ways and means whereby the ends may be obtained have been scientifically ascertained." Professor Ward's *telesis* is likened to the architect's plan together with the builder's work. Thus Ward's telic process was very closely related to the subject of social progress which we shall study in a later chapter. On the one hand Ward's telic motion struck hard at the old *laissez faire* and on the other it transcended the slow, wasteful, natural, evolutionary processes of society. "Society," he maintained, "should not drift aimlessly to and fro, backwards and forwards, without guidance. Rather, the group should carefully study its situations, comprehend the aims it desires to accomplish, study scientifically the best methods for the attainment of these, and then concentrate social energy to the task set before it." In between this practical concept of material planning and Ward's concept of mental and social achievement has developed the whole modern field of social planning.

The Range of Social Planning. One of the first considerations in the study of social planning is the fact that the modern concept is much larger than the popular ideas commonly limited to town planning or city planning. It must be clear that if society is to work effectively for its own progress it must keep in mind the whole field of social life and structure. Consequently there will be included the physical factors, population factors, social reorganization, and experimental efforts towards social direction. Professor Jesse F. Steiner, in unpublished lectures, has included the following topics for a study:

Geographical aspects of community building.
The economic basis of community life.
The rise of the city planning movement.
Problems of transportation and communication.
Improvement of housing conditions.
Planning for parks and playgrounds.
The beautification of the community.
The zoning of residential and industrial districts.
Prevention of slums and blighted districts.
Legislative and financial aspects of city planning.
The planning of rural communities.
The development of regional planning.
The Garden City movement.
The industrial housing of war workers.
The southern cotton-mill village.
The general industrial city.
The residential suburb.
The rural farm colony.
The drift to cities and the suburban trend.
The depletion of the rural population.
The community and population growth.
The adjustment of population to community resources.
The community and population quality.
The place of eugenics in community building.
Community control of public utilities.
Development of efficiency in local government.
Social aspects of industrial and business development.
Education in the service of the community.
The administration of public welfare.
Planning for community health.
Coördination of social and civic agencies.

Provision for cultural needs of community life.
The measurement of community efficiency.
The growing significance of social direction.
Arousing public interest in social planning.
Organizing the community for effective action.
The place of trained leadership in social achievement.
Social science and social direction.

In this chapter we shall study briefly some of the fundamentals involved in national and state planning, land planning, city planning, planning for town, village, and suburb, the larger ideals of regional planning, as well as some of the social ideals involved in community organization and regional sociology.

National and State Planning. A modern problem of governments is that of planning and utilizing to the best effect areas within their domain. The growth and expansion of nations, like the development of cities, has been haphazard. While this seems inevitable in the beginning, as populations grow and as coöperative relationships increase there are increasing possibilities for planning on a large scale. Harlean James, in *Land Planning in the United States*, calls attention to the fact that the present boundaries of continental United States have existed less than seventy-five years, but that the government has had the disposition of 1,399,000,000 acres of land. The nation and the several states are now looking to the question of setting aside and planning great areas of the public domain as forests, parks, recreation places, sites, and materials for public utilities and public resources. Miss James defines land planning as "public control, through planning in advance, of the physical treatment of public and private land and its resources in the interest of the country, capital, state or region as a whole." The key to the whole situation is "putting land to its proper use." In eight chapters she discusses the problems of piecemeal land planning, putting land to its proper use, forest land and cut-over areas, recreation areas and scenic assets, water resources of the United States, land communication, the agricultural lands, and federal and state planning agencies.

An Example of State Planning. A concrete example of efforts toward state-wide planning is that represented by the planning powers of various Massachusetts departments. Miss Miriam Ross points out, in her chapter in *Systems of Public Welfare*, some of the

chief functions of the Massachusetts planning boards. In public utilities, for instance, a single department has powers of supervision over persons engaged in the work of at least 366 companies, associations, and municipalities. The division of highways is empowered to advise and coöperate with local governments in the planning and building of roads, tree planting and beautification, as well as the control of billboards. The Departments of Health and Safety are constantly studying and planning for the elimination of disease and danger. The Metropolitan District Commission has undertaken planning in many ways that include parks, boulevards, beaches. The Board of Agriculture has gone far collecting information in regard to the opportunities for developing old farms and agricultural resources; while the Division of Forestry extends its duties to the promotion, perpetuation, and management of forest lands. Similar planning with reference to lowlands and swamps has been undertaken with some success. There is a Division of Housing and Town Planning within the Department of Public Welfare, while the Commission on the Necessaries of Life looks into future planning as to housing and rents. A legislative act of 1923 authorizes a state consultant in the Division of Housing and Planning to advise and coöperate with the sixty-two local planning boards throughout the state.

Land Planning and the City. The problem of land, its value and distribution, has long since been recognized as fundamental in the field of economics and human welfare. More and more the modern problem of the right use of land is coming to assume important relations in the whole field of social planning. What are the best uses and distribution of our lands in city, county, state, nation? How may we put land to its proper use? To what extent can the economist, the sociologist, the engineer, the educator, the architect, not only add their contributions to that of the landscape architect, but direct him and his forces into the proper channels? To what extent may the citizen be educated and used? To what extent may corporations and larger property owners be brought into the whole plan? And to what extent may government wisely participate in land planning? As in the case of the larger subject of social planning first steps were brought about by city problems, so in land planning this has been preëminently the case. Miss James has devoted the greater part of her volume to land planning

in city areas, but she introduces the broader fields of national, state, and city planning for further study. Good land planning includes also the question of governmental ownership and use of strategic areas. In "Town Planning in the City of Spires," in the February, 1927, *National Municipal Review*, Raymond W. Fennell is quoted as summarizing the advantages of the municipal purchase plan of Oxford:

> It is not only that a city can control development better and reserve open spaces more easily if it is the owner of building land close at hand. It can resell what land it wishes to those waiting for a home and so recover a portion of the purchase price—for there is no need for a city to keep land indefinitely once the best use is being made of it; it can help and hurry forward private building operations that are often checked or completely stopped by lack of water and proper sanitary arrangements, as indeed they have been near Oxford; incidentally it can probably earn big profits in the process; and besides all this it can often most easily relieve existing crowded areas if it owns open ground close at hand on which cottages can be built. The advantages of owning land in the earlier stages of development are overwhelming.

This, however, is only one phase of the whole problem of city planning.

City Planning. The most commonly studied aspect of social planning is that usually referred to as city planning. Mr. Morris Knowles, city planner, at a regional conference on county and town administration held at the University of North Carolina in 1921, presented the case of city planning somewhat as follows: City planning is so valuable to communities as to be almost essential. Some cities can grow and prosper without any plan; most modern cities have done so, and have muddled along without realizing how much better the result might have been. Most of our present communities have not had the advantage over their neighbors given by a good plan. But a new era is now beginning. Our most progressive cities realize that skill and economy of effort count in gaining and keeping the lead. Therefore planning and forethought have resulted, so that no rational advantage is neglected and handicaps are overcome and turned into advantages. When no city had a plan all were equally wasteful of resources. Now, such cities as get good plans will soon outstep their rivals, because with the public money they save they will secure

greater results. A plan for a city is of as much practical value in building that city as is a plan for a great manufacturing establishment or a hotel or public building in constructing it. A few years hence no civic group will plan to develop its city unless it has a definite plan to serve as a guide. With such a plan it will know not only where new factories will be best served by facilities for transporting raw material and finished products, but where they will get at the least expense such municipal services as sewerage, water, light, power, and where they will be most convenient of access from well-designed home districts for the workers. It will know what areas are best adapted to retain trade and most convenient to shoppers, and it will place its parks so that they serve the greatest number of people and add most to the attractiveness of the community without hindering the development of business areas.

The Scope of City Planning. Since the objectives of town planning include comprehensive programs for better facilities for all activities, for the promotion of order, for larger development and growth, and for the general social ideal of making the city a good place in which to live and work, city planning must include a large number of elements. Mr. Knowles has listed seven general requirements:

1. Zoning, which regulates the *use* for which property may be employed, the *height* to which buildings may be built and the *area* that may be covered by buildings.
2. A street system which contemplates a plan providing amply for the increased volume of traffic, thoroughfares where needed, quiet streets in the residential sections, and altogether the type of streets and pavements required by the character of the district which they will serve. This is intimately tied into zoning, because the nature of the districts determines the nature of the streets.
3. Transportation by rail, water, and street railways.
4. Municipal facilities such as public works, water supply, sewers and drainage; refuse collection and disposal.
5. Recreation facilities such as playgrounds, parks, playing fields, parkways, and boulevards.
6. Public buildings, civic centers, etc.
7. Public policy as to housing, buildings, and sanitary conditions.

New York and Its Environs. Although there are hundreds of smaller towns and cities undertaking town planning to some

extent, the most outstanding example is that of New York and its environs. Here is a problem to test the best that modern social planning can do. With a population of 9,000,000 people within a region of 5,500 square miles, with large and tall buildings increasing and adding to congestion, and with proposals for structures of more than 100 stories each capable of housing 40,000 people, New York City faces a supreme test of social engineering. This problem has been recognized for some time, but it remained for the Russell Sage Foundation to make provisions for an epochal study. At the first meeting to discuss the plan, in May, 1922, Mr. Charles Dana Gibson proposed the following resolutions which may be given as indicative of the problem:

Resolved, that in the opinion of this conference of men and women interested in the welfare of New York and its vicinity, the need of a comprehensive regional Plan of New York and its Environs is manifest.

That this conference approve the action of the Committee in undertaking a series of Studies—legal; physical; industrial and economic; social—looking toward the formulation of such a Plan.

That it is the belief of this conference that only by united and continued effort and by the fullest coöperation on the part of all concerned can such a plan be prepared and carried into effect.

Since that time the study has proceeded and has included surveys and preliminary plans of general administration, physical and engineering studies, as well as those relating to economic and industrial, legal, historical and educational affairs and public relations. Each of these has been carried out in considerable detail. Under physical surveys, for instance, there have been, in addition to the general studies, those concerning population, highways, transportation by rail, motor vehicle traffic, parks and recreation facilities, sanitation, zoning, land values, and many other miscellaneous conditions. Under the general heading of studies for improvement of conditions there have been two score studies relating to highways, parks, and recreation facilities, and transportation. Likewise, various industrial and economic surveys have been made, and inquiries into social and living conditions have included housing, recreation, population, public schools, public health, public buildings, public education. Other studies include various architectural surveys and the study of the whole topography of the region with a view to its best use under the most

attractive arrangement. Special aspects of these studies, such as planning of unbuilt areas, zoning practice, and others, are being issued by the committee, and can be had through the Russell Sage Foundation.

The Wisconsin Better Cities Contest. An interesting experiment in the study and planning of communities was the Wisconsin Better Cities Contest conducted by the Wisconsin State Conference of Social Work in 1924–25. Under the cities were grouped their fundamental economic, social, religious activities, each city was rated according to its efficiency in the various fields of activity, and the winners were selected by adding up the detailed scores. Writing in the March, 1927, *Social Forces*, Mr. L. A. Boettiger concludes that:

> Three types of data—population data, institutional data, and functional data—broadly conceived and properly standardized and balanced against each other offer at least a workable solution of the general problem of adequate community measurement. Instruments of this type are more or less crude inevitably for the variables which enter into the comparison of any two agencies are extremely complex and intricately interwoven; and when it comes to entire communities including all sorts of local specializations and conditions more or less peculiar, the problem appears wholly staggering. The measuring sticks probably never will be perfected to a degree that may be called scientific in any proper sense. Nevertheless such objective tests are infinitely more reliable than subjective tests of approval and disapproval, sentiments of like and dislike based upon the familiar and the unfamiliar, and the instruments are bound to become more and more refined, not merely because of better cities contests but because of the increased demands upon standard setting agencies of all descriptions and the need for self-testing felt by communities as they become conscious of the cost to them of the many sources of social waste and inefficiency.

Country Planning. In our previous discussion of the problems of country life we pointed out the contrast between the possibilities for health and beauty that might be realized in the country and the actual existing physical defects and sickness and the obliviousness to natural beauty. In our discussion of rural æsthetics also we called attention to the neglect of the beautiful in the country. This deficiency is manifested both in a lack of appreciation of the charm of the open country and the failure to

beautify buildings, grounds, roads, bridges, and villages. Among the ugliest spots that can be found in the American scene are often tiny villages at the foot of majestic mountains and by rushing streams; unpainted houses and outbuildings with unplanned grounds in the midst of nature's most beautiful settings; railroad stations vying with one another in ugliness and unsanitary condition. The great generosity of nature in providing beauty, the poet's and artist's picturing of grandeur and inspiration, and the assumption that rural planning is entirely unnecessary have not been sufficient. Partly because of the recognition of these deficiencies and the success of city planning, and partly because of the whole trend toward social planning, beginnings have been made in the field of planning for country areas. The whole problem of country planning, however, is one which will require much study, gradual development, avoidance of the usual pitfalls of applying city standards to rural needs, avoidance of impractical and provincial legislative actions, and, most of all, a broader educational program which has the enthusiasm and support of village and country folk themselves. Involved, too, will be the whole question of social values and of the adequate relation of town, suburb, and city plans to the larger concept and process of regional planning. Such planning, too, must keep in mind the advance in scientific methods of production, in transportation and in the distribution of population. Rural planning, therefore, must be considered in the light of two main objectives, the one centering around country life itself, and the other centering around the whole fabric of rapidly growing civilization and increasing population.

Points of Beginning. The field of rural planning will in reality involve three phases corresponding to its three broader objectives. The first is planning as it relates to public property, the second is planning as it relates to private property and real estate developments, and the third is its relation to the whole regional tie-in with town, village, suburbs, and city. In his *Country Planning* Frank A. Waugh lists eleven immediate objectives:

1. *Transportation* may be put first, it being necessary to the life of the country that we have an adequate system of railroads, electric railways, motor transport routes, and highways.

2. *Public Highways.* In the matter of public roads the interests of

the rural population are especially strong. Better road locations can often be made; better road construction and maintenance are always desired; and much can be done in incidental ways to make the roads more attractive and serviceable.

3. *School Grounds* can be made better in many ways, as (a) better, more clean and comfortable houses, (b) grounds of adequate size, (c) proper sanitaries, (d) provision for play, (e) well planned and well planted grounds.

4. *Churches* and all similar buildings are public property and should be conserved and improved.

5. *Cemeteries* are nearly always neglected, but they may always be better planned and maintained.

6. *Playgrounds, Picnic Grounds.* Reservations of this character are needed in practically every neighborhood, but this equipment has yet to be provided in the majority of communities.

7. *Places of Historic Interest* should always be preserved and made accessible.

8. *Housing* is a rural as well as an urban problem. There are rural slums as well as city slums. Good farm houses and good tenant houses are the exception rather than the rule the whole country over.

9. *Farm Grounds* should be improved and made more homelike.

10. *Villages and Towns* are the natural civic centers for the rural population, and it is highly important therefore to see that the villages render appropriate service, through suitable equipment, to the country people.

11. *Public Services*, such as telephone, electric light, etc., are often extended into the country. The rural telephone and free mail delivery very nearly cover the United States and parts of Canada. These properties must be protected and improved.

The Development of Rural Areas. The second phase of rural planning, relating to private property and the development of rural areas, is not so easily described in terms of immediate means and objectives. First of all, there is the historical and traditional background upon which country homes and grounds are planned and built. The old habits of destroying trees and shrubs, of planning grounds and buildings with their use as the first consideration, and of following stereotyped forms of building are well established. Other influences which are not always good include the tendency to build country houses and to plan country places as mere imitations of town and city, based upon standardized or catalogue specifications. This tendency is even promoted by

real estate developers who too often pattern country plans after city developments. An excellent exception to this rule is the better homes movement which has been directed from Washington, largely by Professor James H. Ford of Harvard University. Other constructive efforts are the educational bulletins of the United States Department of Agriculture, of women's clubs, and of various institutions and organizations devoted to the development of rural life. Included, too, in these planning assets are state, national, and local experiments in parks, playgrounds, community centers, and to some extent efforts of public corporations toward beautification. An excellent summary of some of these plans may be found in *Rural Planning*, Farmers' Bulletin No. 1388 of the United States Department of Agriculture.

Town and Village. In between the city areas and the open countryside are the thousands of little towns and villages on the one hand, and on the other suburban areas and garden cities. Of the towns and villages there are those with rural characteristics and those with industrial populations. C. Luther Fry, in his *American Villagers*, lists 18,381 villages in the United States, most numerous in the East North Central division, Middle Atlantic, West North Central, South Atlantic, and West South Central. The majority of states have from 100 to 400 villages each, seven states having more than 600 each. Twelve per cent of the total population of the United States reside in this "no man's land" of social study and social planning. Since these village populations are increasing, and since even in agricultural villages many men are employed in manufacturing pursuits, there is here a great field and need for social planning of the better sort. The scope of planning the small town has been presented in our previous chapter on "The City and Society."

Industrial Towns. An important problem in social planning is that which concerns industrial communities. The industrial town necessarily differs from the agricultural village or the general city. Likewise, industrial centers of large cities, such as Pittsburgh or Birmingham or Bridgeport, necessarily have a larger area devoted to mills and shops than other cities have. The planning of such cities must of course have an economic and commercial background so that facilities for transportation, exchange, housing, general health and sanitation may be included.

Planning has been particularly neglected in the industrial towns and cities, although here of all places it can be utilized most effectively. There have been, however, many experiments in the planning of modern industrial cities, and the tendency is for modern manufacturing plants to take advantage of the current science and art of city planning. Graham Romeyn Taylor, in his *Satellite Cities*, describes some of these industrial towns. Gary, Indiana, with its town and school system, has been described in hundreds of articles and books. In the southern piedmont area many cotton-mill villages have been planned,—some poorly, some admirably. This planning has included not only the central mill area but residence sections, with gardens, plantings, beautification of homes, recreation areas, including stadium, lake, and community centers. Nelson P. Lewis, in his *The Planning of the Modern City*, devotes an excellent chapter to the industrial city; while Morris Knowles, in his *Industrial Housing*, discusses the development of the town plan, parks and parkways, playgrounds, civic centers, commercial districts, streets, plantings, and other important aspects of the industrial town. He also cites a number of concrete examples of industrial town planning. It is obvious that, in the new industrial democracy and with the congestion of modern cities and the corresponding tendency of society to improve social conditions by moving away from the cities, the industrial town offers one of the most important opportunities of the modern era.

Suburbs and Garden Cities. No complete program of social planning can neglect the suburban areas, main-line towns, and garden villages; for in them is found a part of the modern tendency to move out from city congestion into semi-rural areas with urban conveniences. Thus from haphazard suburban settlements there has been a rapid tendency to planned and organized suburban communities. Many of the most beautiful towns in America are the "main-line" communities tributary to New York, Philadelphia, and other American cities. Here have been planned physical surroundings and later community clubs and organizations for recreation, social life, and civic endeavor. In this movement, well coördinated with modern transportation and modern science, many see relief from the congestion of modern cities and the nervous strain of urban life. Likewise, various experiments have

been made in garden cities and community housekeeping. The garden city movement, as discussed by Nelson P. Lewis in Chapter XVI of his *The Planning of the Modern City*, represents another type of experiment. Beginning with Ebenezer Howard's book on *Garden Cities of Tomorrow*, published in 1899, to the conspicuous Forest Hill Gardens located near the business center of New York City, the garden city movement has run the usual gamut of theory, experiment, failure, and success. The central idea of the garden city plan is to provide wholesome surroundings for those who must live near the city and to protest against the extreme centralization of our modern urban civilization.

Regional Planning. These physical backgrounds and objectives of social planning are so inclusive and interrelated that each unit ought to be studied and planned in connection with the whole. This larger concept, including nation, state, city, country, village, suburbs, and their interrelationships, has come to be known as regional planning. This term must not, however, be misinterpreted to mean that beginning with the city and reaching out into the larger and less definite areas all units are to be planned alike or as a part of the regional unit. This mistake has been made, but it is not justified by scientific interpretation and practice. Regional planning, rather, means planning with reference to relationships and total development. An illuminating discussion of the whole problem of regional planning will be found in the special *Survey Graphic* number of May 1, 1925. The provocative place of regional planning ideals in the whole task of social planning is well set forth by Lewis Mumford in his *Regions—To Live In:*

> In sum, regional planning does not mean the planning of big cities beyond their present areas; it means the reinvigoration and rehabilitation of whole regions so that the products of culture and civilization, instead of being confined to a prosperous minority in the congested centers, shall be available to everyone at every point in a region where the physical basis for a cultivated life can be laid down. The technical means of achieving this new distribution of power and culture are at hand. The question before us is whether the automatic operation of physical and financial forces is to burke our rising demand for a more vital and happy kind of existence, or whether, by coördinating our efforts and imaginatively grasping our opportunity, we can remold our institutions so as to promote a regional development—development that will eliminate our enormous

economic wastes, give a new life to stable agriculture, set down fresh communities planned on a human scale, and, above all, restore a little happiness and freedom in places where these things have been pretty well wrung out. This is a question that cuts diametrically across a large part of our current political and social problems; some of these it places in a new light, and some of them it makes meaningless. Regionalism or supercongestion? Will man in America learn the art of mastering and ordering his environment, to promote his own fuller purposes, or will he be mastered by his environment, and presently, as in Samuel Butler's picture in *Erewhon*, or in Zamiatin's *We*, find himself without any purpose other than those of the Machine?

Community Organization. A current phase of social planning is that commonly known as community organization, the story of which has been well told by Jesse F. Steiner in *Community Organization*. Writing in the *Journal of Applied Sociology* for November-December, 1926, Professor Steiner interprets community organization in its historical aspects as well as in its relation to future social planning.

Community organization, he says, in its broadest sense, may be thought of as that phase of community life which is concerned with the interrelations of agencies and institutions and their functioning, not as independent units, but from the point of view of their place in the whole scheme of community activities. In its historical origin, community organization has been limited primarily to social agencies and to the general field of social welfare with the result that it has been thought of as a new technique of social workers rather than as a more comprehensive approach to the whole problem of community development. During the past few years it has become increasingly apparent that the community organization problems of the social workers cover only a small part of the field of social organization and cannot be satisfactorily dealt with without reference to the problem of the structure of the community and the proper functioning of all its institutions. As evidence of this fact there may be cited the growing emphasis upon community and regional planning as well as the tendency to apply the principles of federation to various fields and to build up community councils covering a wide range of community activities.

Next Steps. Keeping in mind the possibilities of social development and the working out of existing community problems, Professor Steiner lists ten next steps:

1. Development of logical community areas and at the same time the extension of any phase of provision for community work whenever needed.
2. Greater attention to the rebuilding of that part of the physical structure of communities for which man has been responsible.
3. Suitable provision for a community council with full authority to study the interrelations of agencies and institutions of the community and to correlate their activities in the interests of all the people.
4. Extension of the plan of joint finance to include all non-official social service and health and civic agencies and institutions of the community that appeal to the public for financial support.
5. Increased emphasis upon official agencies as a means of dealing with community problems.
6. A closer integration of public health and social work.
7. Coördination of national agencies including amalgamation of those at work in closely related fields.
8. Development of public opinion in the community that will demand an appraisal of its major institutions from the point of view of the community as a whole.
9. Recognition of the necessity of skilled service in community organization.
10. Continued emphasis upon research for the purpose of gaining a better understanding of the problems involved in social control.

Social Planning and Leisure Time. A distinct characteristic of modern American civilization is the increasing amount of leisure time. On the one hand wealth has made possible leisure among the well-to-do; while high wages, modern methods of production, new developments in industrial democracy and social welfare have given the laborer more and more leisure. Mr. Ford's recent proposal of the five-day week, adopted in his own plants, was based on the assumption that better pay and more leisure time will enable people to spend more, and that by thus increasing their buying capacity prosperity will be increased. What, then, shall be done with the added leisure time? On the one hand there is involved the whole problem of American culture and creative effort, and on the other the problem of education, culture, and recreation on the part of the whole population. Much of the education of the future, as was pointed out by Mr. Pound in his *Iron Man*, must be planned with a view to the worker's proper use of leisure time, since such skill as is required for simple machine production may be easily and quickly learned. Again, the whole

problem of social adjustment to new economic and social conditions is inseparably bound up with the problem of leisure time in the modern world. Adequate social planning for leisure time is essential for the prevention of social waste and maladjustment, as we saw in the preceding chapter. Many of the present-day problems of America which are giving concern to students of society, such as standards of conduct, lawlessness, and current trends, are closely related to the problem of increased leisure time and increased wealth.

Leisure Time and Recreation. Next to the general field of education, recreation appears to come nearer to supplying the key to the solution of the leisure time problem than any other factor. This is true for both theoretical and practical reasons. Play and recreation, like work, are fundamental processes in the law of growth and development. They are fundamental elements in human happiness and satisfaction. Evidence of this is found in the various theories of play. Play and recreation provide organic exercise for the individual and the group, with an essential preventive function, and become valuable assets to the whole process of social development in the individual and the group. Groos, in *The Play of Animals* and *The Play of Man*, points out how important play is in the utilization of surplus energy. President G. Stanley Hall was wont to call attention to play as a part of the recapitulated history of the race. Other theories ascribe to play an important rôle in the practice or training process. As a preventive measure, play and recreation furnish the individual and the community constructive and pleasureful activities to occupy time and energy which otherwise might be used destructively. Healy and Bronner, in their *Delinquents and Criminals*, estimate that poor recreation and street life are closely correlated with some 35 per cent of the cases in Boston courts. On the contrary, social training, competitive spirit, physical development and intellectual alertness are often developed through play and recreation.

Play and Recreation in America. The development of the play and recreation movement in America has been rapid. According to Mr. H. S. Curtis, writing in the March, 1927, *Social Forces*, there are 5,121 playgrounds, estimated to provide recreation for about 5,000,000 children out of the 15,000,000 total in the city consolidated schools. Another twenty years of growth at this

rate will see a great majority thus served. He estimates that swimming pools are increasing a little faster than playgrounds, that tennis is increasing almost as rapidly, and that summer camps for youth have doubled in a decade. Other activities which offer opportunities but which need great improvement are games, folk dances, and athletics, movies, dramatics, and better leadership. The other institutions, such as the home, the church, the school, and industry, are also joining in the movement with good effect. This program of recreation is a joint one of education, civic coöperation, and legislation. At least twelve states have enacted definite playground laws and a large number of the states have local enactments which make possible coöperation between government and citizens.

Regional Sociology. From this hurried review of the many aspects of social planning it must be clear that social planning of the future must involve the joint efforts of the physical sciences and the social sciences and must take into consideration the whole problem of social values and social guidance. Social planning involves, therefore, the whole question of physical backgrounds and social adjustment, and offers another outstanding opportunity for the utilization and coördination of the social sciences as indicated briefly in our second chapter and as studied later in our last chapter. We have discussed some of the social phases of national development as presented by Professor Ross in his *Roads to Social Peace.* Professor Ross has included in his social science series a volume on *Regional Sociology,* by Radhakamal Mukerjee, in which sociology is presented on the basis of a scientific classification of types and regions. Of this study of the "equilibrium of the region" in its relation to regional and genetic sociology, Professor Ross expresses the hope that the findings of the book will find "favor with serious students of geography, culture and institutions, of sociology, economics, law, ethics and politics." We may add, further, that the study of social planning must also find favor with social workers, to whose field of labor we shall devote the next chapter.

FOR FURTHER STUDY

For Information

1. What are the larger objectives of social planning?
2. Subdivide the outline of social planning, as suggested by Professor Steiner.
3. What are the seven elements included in Knowles' program for city planning?
4. What are some of the immediate objectives in rural planning? What are some of the difficulties?
5. What is regional planning? What is it *not?*

For Stimulating Thought

6. What factors have given rise to the recent emphasis upon social planning?
7. What is the relation of community organization to social planning?
8. Show how recreational facilities and planning for leisure time are conducive to social normality?
9. What are material and social obstacles in the way of city planning?
10. Show the importance of planning for a city in the early stages of its development.

For Research and Creative Writing

11. Make a more detailed study of the program for the planning of New York and its environs.
12. Make a dot map showing other programs for city planning in the United States.
13. Outline the Garden City movement. Give illustrations.
14. Make a bibliography of books and articles which have been published on city, regional, and country planning.
15. Survey an industrial town and plan a program for better planning and better adaptation to social well-being.

For Practical Application

16. Work out a plan for improvement of the business section of a well-established city.
17. Outline a plan for rural community planning for a given county.

18. Work out a plan adapted to the small-town community.
19. Show how planning of industrial centers can benefit both the industry and the city at large.
20. Work out a program for state-wide planning.

For Continuity of Effort

21. What are the objectives of national organizations devoted to regional and city planning?
22. What local organizations may effectively be devoted to city improvement and city planning?
23. Who are available leaders in regional and city planning in the United States?
24. Show how one program of regional or city planning has produced greater effectiveness in social welfare.
25. What efforts have been made in your community, town, or city toward social planning?

For Effective Reading

26. For special study: Steiner's *Community Organization*, Douglass' *Little Town*, Mukerjee's *Regional Sociology*, Waugh's *Country Planning*, Knowles' *City Planning*.
27. For sampling or exhaustive reading: Adshead, Burr, W., Curtis, W. H., Douglass, Hart, J. K., James, Knowles, Lewis, McClenahan, McIver, Mukerjee, Nelson, W. C., Purdom, Rainwater, Steiner, Waugh, Wera.

CHAPTER XXXI

SOCIAL WORK AND PUBLIC WELFARE

Social Work and Social Guidance. Among the most important of modern social movements is the development of professional social work, which seeks to contribute to social guidance through the adjustment of individuals and of groups. Like other social movements and other new professions, social work has developed slowly, with much changing process and technique and in the face of many difficulties. It has developed from small beginnings centered around the philanthropic spirit of charity into a modern comprehensive program which seeks social justice and social adjustment through a rapidly evolving professional technique. The modern status of social work may be measured in many ways. In New York City alone, for instance, there are more than 4,000 agencies devoted to social work. These have been classified according to function by the Welfare Council of New York City into four main divisions, including family welfare; child welfare; health; and educational, recreational, and neighborhood activities. The family welfare group includes organizations working directly with the family or in the related fields of care for adults, such as immigrants, travelers, the aged, and the homeless; agencies providing legal aid and housing service; and agencies of a protective and correctional nature. In the division of child welfare are found agencies and institutions caring for dependent children, day nurseries, and kindergartens, summer camps, special types of school services, and protective and correctional agencies. The health group comprises such activities as health education, nursing services, hospitals, clinics, medical and social service, and convalescent care. In the division of education, recreation, and neighborhood activities are included recreational and vocational guidance services, education and employment of the handicapped, character-building agencies, and neighborhood houses and associations. The study of these thousands of organizations alone, as found in the Council's *Classification of Social Agencies by Function in the City of New York*,

would provide an excellent interpretation of the whole field of social work. The Council is now engaged upon a plan to provide 3,000,000 dollars for a central social work building in the city. Other cities and states, together with county and rural areas in the United States, may be studied in similar ways if it is desired to measure the extent of the whole social work movement in America.

The National Conference of Social Work. Another method of comprehending the fields and activities of social work may be found in the study of the National Conference of Social Work from its early simple beginnings in 1874 to the annual conference meeting at Des Moines in 1927, with its more than thirty constituent groups and its anticipated attendance of 6,000. The Conference has had fifty-two presidents, the first being J. V. L. Pruyn in 1874, and the one for 1927 John A. Lapp, while in between fall such contemporary personages as Jane Addams, Julian Mack, Robert A. Woods, Owen R. Lovejoy, Robert W. Kelso, Homer Folks, Julia C. Lathrop, Grace Abbott. An adequate story of the development of social work from the first frontiers of social justice to the present is being prepared, and will center around these individuals and their work. Something of the scope of the National Conference may be seen from the list of its thirteen divisions—children, delinquents and correction, health, the family, industrial and economic problems, neighborhood and community life, mental hygiene, organization of social forces, public officials and administration, the immigrant, professional standards and education, educational publicity.

Professional Schools. Of special importance to the larger field of social and educational guidance is the increasingly wide place which professional social work is taking in the educational programs of college and university. At the present time the American Association of Schools of Professional Social Work has a membership of some twenty-five institutions, including, among the older colleges, Bryn Mawr, Michigan, Indiana, Johns Hopkins, Missouri, Minnesota, Ohio State, North Carolina, Oregon, Wisconsin, Smith; while others include Cincinnati, Southern California, Carnegie, Chicago, and such special schools as the New York School of Social Work. Their curricula are being worked out with special reference to wholesome social work instruction and include

background of pre-professional courses, specific knowledge courses, technical knowledge courses, and technical training courses. In line with the modern tendency for coördination and coöperation among the social sciences, there are offered "professional courses" for medical social service, psychiatric social work, probation work, visiting teaching, and other specialized courses in which allied professions have a place and the resources of hospital, dispensary, court, school, and other social agencies are utilized. Another agency tending to promote and develop higher standards of social work is the American Association of Social Workers, which is closely allied with the National Conference and the Association of Professional Schools.

The Field of Social Work. In its process of adjustment social work has developed a certain procedure, technique, and clearly demarcated divisions. With reference to specialization and technique it has evolved a considerable body of material and method in social and family case work, in child welfare, in community organization, in institutional adjustment or general reform, and in general research. Social case work strives to adjust the individual to his institution or group; community organization seeks forces and processes of disorganization and adjustment, some of the technical aspects of which were discussed in the previous chapter. Other larger aspects of social work center around problems of maladjustment and readjustment as discussed in our chapter on "Maladjustment and Social Waste." Special techniques and methods are being developed also in a number of other fields. One of these is social work in the rural areas, where the social worker becomes the community leader with need for a broader groundwork of education and training than does the specialist. Another special field is hospital social service, in which social work connects wholesomely the hospital and home, in somewhat the same way as home service in the Red Cross became the connecting link between the soldier and the folks he left behind him. Another special field is psychiatric social work, in which social and mental hygiene play an important part in the study and adjustment of normal and abnormal individuals. Industrial social work, or as it has commonly been called, welfare work or industrial betterment, has developed a many-sided task which is concerned in part with leisure-time activities and is therefore itself a special field. It is estimated

that more than fifteen hundred employers in the United States are undertaking some type of industrial social work. The work of the visiting teacher and other community aspects of school work which link up the home and school have developed into such proportions as to require a separate division. The churches, too, and religious organizations, such as the Y. M. C. A., the Y. W. C. A., and the Y. M. H. A., have undertaken larger programs of social work through a more or less definite technique of their own. Community play and recreation have long since been recognized as fundamental divisions of social work and, through the Play and Recreation Association of America and many other agencies, have made a large contribution. In recent years the larger fields of public health and public nursing are being more closely allied with the principles and processes of social work. A distinct division which will be treated separately in the following pages is the field of public welfare or the government's part in social work.

The Meaning of Social Work. In all of these phases of social work the keynote is that of adjustment of the individual to his face-to-face and institutional relationships and to his biological and physical backgrounds and environment. Indeed, the most acceptable definitions of social work are those which have interpreted it in terms of adjustment, adaptation, accommodation, social guidance. Miss Townsend, in her *Social Work a Family Builder*, finds the genesis of social work in the ancient and honorable injunction to do good to others and in the newer quest to find a new relation between human beings. Mr. De Schweinitz has expressed one phase of the philosophy of social work in the title of his work, *The Art of Helping People Out of Trouble*. Professor Tufts, in his *Education and Training for Social Work*, calls attention to its broad and changing field and to other commonly used designations such as social administration, social service, social engineering, social economy. He therefore gives his definitions in terms of scope and objectives. Queen, in his *Social Work in the Light of History*, defines it as the art of adjusting personal relationships. In our own little volume on *An Approach to Public Welfare and Social Work* we have distinguished social work as a process of finding, restoring, and developing the lost in the world of human relationships. We have illustrated this figure by referring to lost individuals needing adjustment to family and

society, lost groups needing readjustment to social organization and environment, lost institutions struggling to find themselves in the new order, and lost truth waiting to be found and set free. The age-long quest for paths of adjustment and of peace is none the less fascinating because of the use of scientific methods in this newer process of social work and social guidance.

Social Work and Social Science. We may illustrate the field, process, and needs of social work in three other ways. In the first place, we may look back to our chapter on "Maladjustment and Social Waste" and see to what extent the social work process is of vital importance in the solution of the social problems there outlined. Professor Gillin, in his *Poverty and Dependency*, and in his *Crime and Punishment*, has summarized many of the concrete tasks of social work in relation to the problems of social deficiencies. Thus both in their intermediate stages and in final adjustment the social worker is called upon for the amelioration of conditions that have to do with poverty, crime, defectiveness, broken homes, thwarted childhood, neglected old age, and other forms of maladjustment. That the social worker must be well trained and that the profession of social work must be grounded upon adequate education and technique is now evident to the student who has followed this story of social relationships. It is evident, too, that the problem of social work may be further illustrated by its dependence on the social sciences, for the social guidance of the individual and the adjustment of community problems are so comprehensive as to need the scientific results of social biology, of economics, of government, of anthropology, of social geography, of history, of jurisprudence. Indeed, it is doubtful whether there is any avenue through which the findings of pure science may be better applied to human welfare than through this whole field of social work. The problems and prospects of social work may, finally, be illustrated through a study of the newer discipline of public welfare.

The Meaning of Public Welfare. Public welfare, although in the United States made up of a chaotic variety of experiments, is nevertheless one of the most distinctive phases of the modern development of social work. In this book we interpret public welfare as the social work activity of government, and we shall study it as thoroughly as possible with a view to finding out what

the government's responsibility is for social work. We need not, therefore, define public welfare further than to refer back to the problems of social maladjustment and social waste and to the divisions and technique of social work. What are the particular responsibilities of government for participation in social guidance and social adjustment? What are the particular administrative and financial problems? The extent of the problem of public welfare is indicated by the fact that practically every state in the union has declared for the development of a more economical and comprehensive organization, and that at least twelve states have definitely adopted the term "public welfare" to designate their official bodies. In Chapter II of *Systems of Public Welfare* Miss Breckinridge tells the story of the development and extent of state systems of public welfare in the United States. She finds that after sixty years of effort there are still some commonwealths that have not taken effective steps for reorganizing their service, that there are many other anomalies, that the forty-five states which have taken some action show diversity at well-nigh every point; and that, therefore, there is great need for authoritative leadership. She thinks there should be also the recognition of governmental responsibility for a service "soundly developed and based on the fundamental demand that the victims of social and economic maladjustment be adequately cared for, the symptoms traced to their source, and the wisdom acquired from sound treatment and thorough analysis applied to constructive and preventive attacks upon the social and economic ills thus revealed."

The Case for Public Welfare. It ought not to be necessary at this time—although manifestly it is—to state important grounds upon which governmental responsibility for social work is based. It is evident from the uncertain status which public welfare holds, both in the general scheme of things and in the common citizen's opinion, as well as from the wide range and inconsistencies of its administration, that there is need for a restatement of the elementary approaches to the subject. An increased scope and more definite technique of public welfare is manifestly required at this time for many reasons. First of all, there is the fact itself that the larger public welfare is here—indisputably so. From the viewpoint of social work it is essential. Surely the government must have its large share in that great process of social adjustment which

finds its most perfect flower in professional social work. Governmental participation and sanction must inevitably strengthen and popularize the whole field of social work. Governmental participation in the essential processes must inevitably relieve the great programs of private and voluntary agencies for further pioneering on the frontiers and for the study and promotion of social coöperation. Public welfare promotes the continuity and improvement of personnel in social work. Public welfare guarantees stability and continuity of funds. The resources of governmental agencies turned into scientific research and active programs will add great momentum to the whole movement of social amelioration. Public welfare, moreover, is an essential and final part of the democratic process. We have already outlined the fundamentals of a lasting democracy. One of the supreme tasks in modern democracy is harmonizing the principle of equality of opportunity with the facts of inequality and unlikeness in individuals and situations. It is only through public welfare that synthesis may be brought out of seeming inconsistencies in the democratic ideal.

Next Steps in Democracy. The history of governments has been marked by conspicuous failures in the making of democracy effective in the unequal places. The next step in democracy ought to be found in the technique and organization of governmental social work. Effective public welfare is important in making more effective the other departments of government. It is important in the economical expenditure of public moneys, both because of its actual savings and work well done, and because of its preventive programs. Effective public welfare may very well ferret out the remedies for social unrest and inequalities in the distribution of social and economic opportunities. Public welfare may yet help to bridge the distance between the social worker and the professional technician on the one hand and the common man on the other. In still other ways the essentials of public welfare lie at the very root of the principles of democratic government and of political theory. Many phases of social work dealing with situations which involve legal procedure and justice touch closely the whole problem of inalienable rights. Some aspects of social adjustment must be approached through the agencies of government as representative of mutual coöperation. Essential functions of local government are involved. The principle that public moneys

should be expended through public officials is important. Many other issues, such as the indirect influence of large private wealth and of paternalism, are involved. Factors of community and institutional conflict are important. The whole situation of the complexity of modern civilization, with its rapid urbanization and industrialization, requires government to become as never before the institutional buffer between individuals and groups on the one hand and conditions growing out of rapid social change on the other. Uniformity of technique and justice in an increasingly complex civilization, constantly changing in form, can be secured, only through this medium. And in all of these phases the taxpayer and the philanthropist, the social worker and the politician alike ought to be interested.

Public Welfare and Social Work. Without illustrating further any of these important bases above mentioned we hasten to emphasize again two important considerations. The first one is the fact that the newer public welfare does not detract from, but rather adds to the scope, meaning, and effectiveness of professional social work. The second consideration is that the chief benefits and backgrounds of public welfare, as stated above, necessarily require a reasonably successful plan of administration. We have pointed out how a full-fledged and successful public welfare would enhance and popularize social work, how it would add to the continuity of plans and personnel and reduce labor turnover, how it would tend to stabilize funds, how it would increase opportunities for professional social workers, and how it would contribute in general to the raising of standards. It will be clear from an examination of social work cases in any community that many problems and phases of social work and experiment can best be done by voluntary groups and agencies. But of special importance are the great functions of private agencies to experiment and to blaze trails which later may be taken up and perfected by the community and government, to stimulate, to check, to contribute a balance of social power, to coöperate with governmental efforts, to utilize civic interests, lay activities, religious efforts and to develop the whole field of community organization and institutional coöperation.

Safeguards and Limitations. It must be equally clear that any plan or system of public welfare so undeveloped and imperfect

as to permit of political manipulation, of narrow application, or of unscientific methods would in many cases make the ideals just stated impossible of realization. For, it is easily seen from experience and might be easily concluded from surmise that public welfare, improperly grounded in political theory and ignoring principles of social work and the background of social science, would militate against scientific methods, trained leadership, broad conceptions of social work and effective community organization. This, however, so far from being an objection to public welfare, is an obstacle that calls for the very sort of study and investigation which we believe is the next essential step for success in this particular American task. Indeed, if we turn now to the question as to what are some of the actual facts, conditions, and needs of the present public welfare situation in the United States, our first efforts must necessarily deal with the problem of somehow getting a body of facts together in such a way as to insure information, an informed public, and an informed leadership. We have already pointed out the remarkable variations and inconsistencies in state systems of public welfare. We have pointed out the lack of interest in and understanding of what the national field of public welfare might be, and to some extent we have indicated the deficiencies in municipal situations, but when all is said and done we come back to the same starting point of uncertainty, indefiniteness, and the general lack of any dependable guiding information or plan.

Coöperative Study. If it is disappointing to all of us that we have found very little in our conclusions that will be of practical help here and now, it may be recalled that such situations have been faced throughout the whole course of progress in social work in education, and in government. Perhaps we shall reach only one conclusion, around which, however, we may center certain questions or points of emphasis and tendency. Our major conclusion would manifestly be the recognition of an emergency in the study of public welfare administration. May we not agree upon some of the essentials of such a study? In a comprehensive program of research should not at least four main groups of people take part? These groups would comprise our professors and specialists in the theory of government, our social workers and certain of our educational leaders, the members of our university

and privately endowed agencies for research in the social sciences, and our government officials and political leaders in city, state, and nation. No such coöperative plan is now in operation even in a small way. There are, of course, individual professors here and there making important investigations through their own efforts and the efforts of graduate students. There are, of course, numerous social workers and social work agencies attempting inquiries into this field. And more promising perhaps, for the present, than either of these are the efforts of our national, state, and local bureaus, institutes, and other organizations for research into government and general social affairs; though even these for the most part have placed too little emphasis upon public welfare. Finally, there are scores of cities and counties and some state officials, boards and commissions who are continuously appealing for help in the establishment of proper boards and departments of public welfare. Most of them ask confusedly and receive an uneven measure of satisfaction. A sort of corollary to this general conclusion might be found in the feeling that one of the next steps in the promotion of better public welfare must be a clearer understanding of the correlated efforts of communities in the fields of public health, public recreation, social planning, together with the older phases of social work and public welfare centering around relief and adjustment for the socially deficient. Such an effort would be in accord with the present inclination of the American social sciences to center their attacks upon social situations and social problems rather than upon the development of the specialized social disciplines and sciences. That is to say, the social sciences are to be used more for the working out of human relationships than for the perfection of abstract theories; and though artificial compartments of knowledge will thus be broken down, there will nevertheless be made possible an even more scientific application of valid specialisms. Such an objective could be furthered admirably by the coöperative study and research of the four groups mentioned.

Definitions and Coördination. From these considerations we arrive at another general question: Is it not possible to define and delimit the field of governmental responsibility for social work or of public welfare more clearly and with more uniformity, and at once? That is, is it not possible to chart the field of public welfare

to show how and to what extent the larger problems of relief of social deficiencies and of abnormal adjustments may be tied in with programs centering around preventive measures, normal relationships, and social planning which fall outside the fields of public works, public utilities, public safety, public highways, public education, public finance, as such? Such a definition and limitation would at once make a more effective approach to our institutional problems as well as to outdoor relief and social delinquencies. Scarcely less important is still another task, that of bringing about a more wholesome, more intelligent, and more inclusive community coöperation between private and voluntary groups, general institutional agencies, and governmental activities. This problem, seemingly self-evident, has, however, been unfortunately neglected and, in smaller communities and sometimes in larger cities, its neglect results in serious conflict between personalities, between agencies, between the old and the new, and between private and public. In particular instances and divisions of social work such relationships have been worked out admirably, but not in the larger fields applicable so much alike to county, city, and town-country relationships. A more successful and uniform linking up might easily result in an effective plan for a fourfold unity, found in the loose federation of the country-wide system of public welfare, the state-wide system of public welfare, the community-wide council of coöperative agencies, and state and national supervision and coöperation.

Reaction and Progress. The further study of public welfare is, moreover, of special importance at this time for several reasons. In the first place, since the great war there has tended to be, in this realm as in others, considerable reaction. In many states and cities there have been movements directed against departments and efforts in the field of public welfare. As regards criminals, there has been much reaction against certain modern social principles recommended in the treatment of offenders. There has been raised the question in the minds of the public, just as in the field of education, as to whether we have not reached the limit in expenditures of public moneys which cannot be passed without falling into a much feared socialistic régime. There are, too, a considerable number of people who balk at the whole process of democracy and emphasize the cult of intellect, with perhaps an

approach to something like the Nietzschean philosophy of survival. Thus our study of social work and public welfare is vitally and organically related to the whole problem of social guidance, social values, and social progress. In our next chapter we shall continue our study of the concept of social guidance through an examination of the theories, processes, and problems of social values and social development.

FOR FURTHER STUDY

For Information

1. What is the scope of the National Conference of Social Work? How long has it existed?
2. Give various concepts of the field and rôle of social work.
3. How is public welfare interpreted in this book?
4. What rôle does governmental social work play in democracy?
5. What are the relations of public welfare and social work to social control?

For Stimulating Thought

6. How does the work of the rural social worker differ from that of the social worker in the city?
7. To what extent is training in the social sciences essential to preparation for social work?
8. Why has the government been slow in recognizing its responsibility for social work?
9. What are the advantages of public welfare programs as against private and voluntary agencies?
10. What is the danger of unscientific methods in social work?

For Research and Creative Writing

11. Make an exhaustive list of the types of national social work agencies.
12. Illustrate the rôle of some of the social sciences in the treatment of a juvenile offender.
13. Write a brief review of the history of public welfare in the United States.
14. Trace briefly the development of scientific methods in social work.

15. List national, state, and city organizations for the administration of public welfare.

For Practical Application

16. Make a case for the need for social work in rural areas.
17. To what extent are private agencies giving way to public welfare programs?
18. What do you anticipate will be the effect of university training for social work upon the school curriculum?
19. What are the dangers involved in the too rapid development of social work?
20. Outline a program for administration of public welfare in a particular community.

For Continuity of Effort

21. What are the new efforts in the United States being put forth in behalf of public welfare?
22. How much does your state spend annually on public welfare programs?
23. In the local community list all agencies, clubs, and programs for social work.
24. Outline the work of a local community chest.
25. What do you consider the chief obstacles in the way of public welfare in your state?

For Effective Reading

26. For special study: Queen's *Social Work in the Light of History*, Steiner's *Education for Social Work*, DeSchweinitz' *The Art of Helping People Out of Trouble*, Macadam's *The Equipment of the Social Worker*, Odum and Willard's *Systems of Public Welfare*.
27. For sampling and exhaustive reading: Attlee, Bennett, Breckinridge, Cabot, R. C., Cheney, DeSchweinitz, Devine, Dunham, Halbert, Johnson, A., Kelley, Kelso, Lee, T., Macadam, Odum, Queen, Richmond, M. E.

CHAPTER XXXII

SOCIAL PROGRESS AND SOCIAL VALUES

The Meaning of Progress. The comprehensive study of social problems, social development, social change, and social guidance inevitably leads to the quest for an adequate concept of social progress. In earlier chapters we have shown how *growth* and development constitute the objectives of the good life for the individual, and we have suggested that *social progress* may well represent the highest good for society. Unless, however, we define the concept of progress with some definiteness, analyze its phases, and search out sure avenues of approach our statement of objectives will mean little. Few terms have been used more loosely and inaccurately than the phrase "social progress." So true this is that many students of society are averse to using the expression at all except in relative ways. Nevertheless, society and its development must inevitably be bound up with the time and relation process commonly known as progress. For the social biologist and eugenist it is evolution through the laws of organic process; for the political philosopher it is Utopia; for the religious man it is the City of the New Jerusalem; for the poet it is "that far-off divine event to which the whole creation moves"; for the sociologist it is the dynamic direction of social forces; for the individual or the family or the race or the nation it is the increasing approach to supreme achievement. Our task, therefore, in this chapter must be to look into these concepts, analyze them, isolate certain factors, and so estimate the value basis upon which progress must be made and the means whereby it may be attained. Then in our last chapter we shall relate progress and development to the important principle of social guidance and to social science as the supreme means of achievement.

Natural Divisions. In order to study the relation of progress to change on the one hand and to social welfare and guidance on the other, we shall consider the subject under five main headings, using the term "progress" for the time being, in the definite

sense of advance. The first is *progress in time.* This is measured by the calendar and waits for no man. Time has passed since Columbus discovered America. This is a concrete, vivid, local illustration of progress in time. Equally vivid is J. B. S. Haldane's prophecy in the March, 1927, *Harper's* as to what will have happened 50,000,000 years hence. That is to say, time is an element, a fundamental; and other qualities of progress must be considered in space, action, and relational factors. So much time will pass, how much will the individual or society put into that amount of time? Our second aspect is *progress in space and space relationships.* Columbus discovered America, and that new area of the world's surface has become the center of western civilization. The remaking of tropical areas, the digging of canals, the drainage of swamps, have added to the usable amount of the earth's inhabitable surface. Skyscrapers, aëroplanes, subways, have multiplied the spaces of the earth, the air, and the waters. What, then, shall be the use of this increasing advance in space and space relationships? Our third aspect is *progress in the quantity of human achievement.* This is measured in myriad ways almost as inevitably as progress in time. In previous discussions of social change and development we have enumerated concrete examples of the unprecedented progress in the world's quantitative material achievements. Illustrating this phase more vividly, we have called attention to the fact that the last fifty years have shown a larger quantitative development than all the rest of history. Unfortunately, the quantitative aspect of progress is the most commonly accepted standard of measurement, and the quantity production standard is often considered synonymous with western civilization.

Qualitative Measurements. A question which has been raised often by students and philosophers, doubts whether human nature, human intellect, human spirit, human quality, have made any advance since the days of, let us say, Plato and Aristotle. Our fourth aspect, therefore, deals with the question of *progress in the quality of human achievements.* This may be measured by concrete evidences such as the discoveries of medicine, of chemistry, of physics. While the discoveries of science undoubtedly promote progress in space and quantity, those great advances in medicine which prevent suffering, prolong life, and eliminate disease rank

primarily as progress in quality. Modern civilization offers an impressive catalogue of qualitative achievements. Nevertheless, many qualitative contributions of science, such chemical products, for example, as of poison gas, or the myriad near-miracles of the other physical sciences, may so complicate and speed up the modern civilization process as to throw doubt upon the final quality and fact of permanent social progress. What, for instance, is the relation between the phenomenal political, economic, and social quantitative advance of the German Empire up to 1914 and its status in 1920? We therefore approach a final criteria of *progress in the sum total of human welfare.* This must be measured in terms of values, objectives, and relationships which now constitute one of the chief tasks of modern civilization. For the most part, philosophical theories of social progress have assumed this final objective but have failed in the measurement of its component, constituent, and relational factors. Keeping in mind the need for definitions and objectives bounded by the essentials of human welfare and the elements, means and combinations through which they are to be attained, we may now examine briefly some of the theories of social progress.

Todd's Classification. Arthur J. Todd, in *Theories of Social Progress,* gives four tests or criteria of progress. The first is the *population test.* The conclusions of the social Darwinians, demanding a population which would admit the proper selection of the fit, and the eugenicists, demanding not a large population but a good population, point to the gradual giving way of a quantitative ideal in population unless it contains as well a qualitative factor. A second test of progress is increasing *health and longevity.* With the death rate steadily declining and the increasing scientific methods for combating disease, health and long life seem to be contributing to social well-being. A third test is *wealth* and the fourth is *moral progress.* But, Professor Todd concludes, "the progress of society, then, is not merely moral progress, or intellectual progress, or material progress, or institutional progress; it is a complex of all these and more." For, he says, "social progress involves the harmonious development of every constituent member and group in society, this harmony to be determined by the fitness of society to meet the exigencies of nature and self-conscious life, to grapple with its problems of to-day, and to provide for going on to-morrow."

Further the author classifies the prophets of progress as the *materialistic*, the *biologic*, the *institutional*, and the *ideologistic*. The first or the materialistic advocates of social progress accord climate, wealth, invention, technique of production and trade, and division of labor the dominant rôles in human advance. To the biologic theorists race-selection, war, eugenics, and population growth are progress-making forces. The champions of institutional development find progress value in property, the family, government, law, public opinion, language, and religion. To the ideologistic prophets, intellect, ideals, æsthetic sentiments, and literature play the most important rôles in human progress.

Park and Burgess. Park and Burgess, in their comprehensive *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, have arranged their source material in the study of progress under seven divisions. Under the first division, "The Definitions of Progress," they have listed twenty-five titles, ranging from John Dewey's "Progress" in the *International Journal of Ethics* to Jankelevitch's "Du Rôle des idées dans l'évolution des sociétés" in *Revue Philosophique*. Within this field are various concepts, ranging from pessimism to optimism, and involving various factors of religion, social ideas, history, and others. Under the general division of "History, the Philosophy of History and Progress" they list twenty titles with similar variation, which include discussions of modern thought on progress and the processes of history as well as the more technical philosophies. Their third division, "Evolution and Progress" comprises fourteen selections; a fourth, "Eugenics and Progress," thirteen; a fifth, "Progress and Moral Order," another thirteen; while the sixth and seventh divisions, "Utopias" and "Progress in Social Welfare" include, respectively, eighteen and twenty-two references. One of the points of emphasis made by Park and Burgess has been the relative newness of the concept of progress. Park and Burgess have grouped their materials into another threefold classification, under the general headings of the concept of progress, progress and science, and progress and human nature.

Specific Concepts of Progress. The cataloguing and description of various concepts of progress set forth by many writers would in itself constitute an illuminating descriptive study. The following are representative. Lester Ward has defined progress as "that which secures the increase of human happiness." Professor Dewey

thinks that the problem of progress is one "of discovering the needs and capacities of collective human nature as we find it aggregated in racial or national groups on the surface of the globe, and of inventing the social machinery which will set available powers operating for the satisfaction of those needs." Herbert Spencer saw progress as a process of evolution; M. De Greef as differentiation and coördination, or, in other words, organization. To Comte progress must be accompanied by the "consolidation of order." Benjamin Kidd held that social progress must be accompanied by the sacrifices of the individual to the welfare and interests of the group. To Condorcet progress is moral and intellectual. Social solidarity is to Kropotkin synonymous with progress. Henry George states as a law of progress "association in equality." Professor Ross sees progress as better adaptation to given conditions. To Bushee the three processes of social progress are integration, variation, and selection. To Wyndham Lewis progress is intimately associated with revolution. Lothrop Stoddard says, "In a wise balance between the factors of conservation and innovation, thus avoiding the extremes of both dull stagnation and chaotic change, lies the secret of human progress." To him progress is intimately bound up with the advancement of science and the scientific spirit. "The age that is coming will be an age of true enlightenment and progress if we succeed in really assimilating the vast extensions of knowledge and power which we have amassed into our present and idealistic and cultural scheme. And the way to do it is . . . by an attitude of mind and spirit which we may term *Scientific Humanism*." Bertrand Russell sees as the one road to progress, "science wielded by love." Walter F. Wilcox, from a statistician's point of view, took as his indices of progress increase in population, length of life, uniformity in population, racial homogeneity, literacy, and decrease of the divorce rate. Hobhouse maintains that "progress is not something that goes on of itself by an automatic law or an inherent tendency of things . . . progress is made in so far as the conditions of life come more and more under the dominion of Mind. There is nothing in the scheme of organic evolution to determine that the higher type should prevail except the inherent strength of the type itself." Therefore, progress is continuous only so long as the knowledge and gains of the past are utilized in the further advance of society. And so the concepts of

progress could be multiplied almost indefinitely, for the subject has demanded the attention and interest of numerous writers.

Measurements of Progress. In addition to the attempt to measure progress in terms of natural time and space relationships, quantity, quality, and condition, our concepts of progress might be considerably illuminated by various other methods of measurement. For some students of progress, for instance, race might be used to measure progress. That is, having set up certain categories and standards of culture, the progress of a particular race would be determined by the distance which the race has covered in the direction of those standards. In the same way, having set up certain specific standards of achievement, progress might be measured in terms of the number and quality of units that go to make them up. Professor Giddings states well a technical means of measuring societal attainment when he says: "The ratio of situations created by man to situations created for him, to all of which human society reacts, is a measure of societal attainment. I do not know that anyone has ever proposed to use this ratio as a measure of progress. I think that, in the nature of things, it is a cultural distance measure (from animal to civilized *homo sapiens*) and that perhaps it is the best one that we shall ever get." Professor Giddings also suggests a value measure of progress will be found in the negative correlation of birth rate and the positive correlation of death rate with hereditary defect and conditional intelligence. He thinks such a qualitative measure of progress very important and that such correlations ought to be ascertained for the whole population and for all its component and constituent groups. "They should be ascertained," he says, "for color races, for the native and the foreign-born, for nationalities, for local communities, for kindreds and families, for the adherents of religions and sects, for the alumni of colleges and universities, and for occupations."

Structure and Function of Society. When the scientific study of society shall have been developed more comprehensively and effectively one of the best methods of measuring social progress will be to use some such scientific measuring scale as Professor Giddings' outline for the study of society through the measurement of form, action, and factoral patterns. In simple words, progress would be measured in terms of advance in the structure,

function, and values of society at a given period. That is, we should answer in terms of very definite and objective units the question, what is society? How do its form, structure, relational setting to time, and its heartiness measure up? What categories and units of measurement may be defined and developed with precision? In the same way, we shall measure the objectives of what society does and can do, and we shall evolve and develop action patterns capable of reflecting the progress of dynamic society. In other words, what is the potential energy of modern society compared to society in other days? What are its capacities? What is its energy? What are its resources? What is its technical organization, competent to utilize, direct, and conserve these resources? How do its organizations and groups compare with similar organizations and groups of other societies and other periods? And we shall answer the third question with reference to society: "what for," "which way"? That is, we shall work out precise measurements of factoral or conditional patterns through which we may measure society's status and ability to coördinate its structure and function in increasingly effective value and survival relationships. In simple terms, we wish to know not only what society is and what it does, but also what it is capable of doing, what it ought to do, and what its capacity and will are for evolution in the total time, space, and relations available to it in the future. Finally, we shall need to measure progress in terms of society's current capacity for knowing *how* to bring about the maximum of its conditional possibilities. This leads us, then, to study the place of social values in the determination of standards and measurements of structure, function, and relation, and of the rôle of the social sciences in the discovery of values and in social guidance.

Other Measurements. Many other methods of measuring progress have been suggested, and we need only present enough here to indicate their scope, method, and need of definiteness. Professor L. C. Marshall, in his *Story of Human Progress*, looks upon man's ability "to take an intelligent and effective part in an evolving society" as a suitable measure of progress. He discusses this measurement under four main headings. These treat of man the harnesser of nature, man the communicator, man the social organizer, man the idealist and aspirer. Professor

Blackmar, in his *History of Human Society*, attempts to recount progress by means of eleven categories:

1. Method of the Kind of Implement Used: Paleolithic, or Old Stone Age; Neolithic, or New Stone Age; incidental use of copper, tin, and other metals; the making of pottery; the Age of Bronze; the Iron Age.

2. Method of Art Development: primitive drawings in caves and engraving on ivory and wood; the use of color in decoration of objects, especially in decoration of the body; beginnings of sculpture and carving of figures, animals, goods, and men; pictorial representations—the pictograph; representative art in landscapes; perspective drawing; idealistic art; industrial arts.

3. Method of Economic Stages: the Nomadic Stage; the Hunter-Fisher Stage; the Pastoral Period; the Agricultural Period; the Commercial Period; the Period of Industrial Organization.

4. Progress Estimated by the Food Supply: natural subsistence period; fish and shellfish; cultivation of native grains; meat and milk; farinaceous foods by systematic agriculture.

5. Method of Social Order: solitary state of man (hypothetical); the human horde; small groups for purposes of association; the secret society; the religious cult; closely integrated groups for defense; amalgamated or federated groups; the race.

6. The Family Development: state of promiscuity (hypothetical): polyandry; polygamy; patriarchal family with polygamy; the monogamic family.

7. Progress Measured by Political Organization: the horde organized about religious ideas; the completed family organization; the ethnic state; state formed by conflict and amalgamation; international relations; the World State (idealistic).

8. Religious Development: belief in spiritual beings; recognition of the spirit of man and other spirits; animism; anthropomorphic religion; spiritual concept of religion; ethnical religions; forms of religious worship and religious practice.

9. Moral Evolution: race morality (gang morality); sympathy for fellow beings; sympathy through blood relationship; patriotism, love of race and country; world ethics.

10. Progress Through Intellectual Development: sensation and reflex action; instinct and emotion; impulse and adaptability; reflective thought; invention and discovery; relational direction of human life; philosophy; science.

11. Progress Through Savagery and Barbarism: lower status of savagery; middle status of savagery; upper status of savagery; lower status

of barbarism; middle status of barbarism; upper status of barbarism; civilization(?).

Social Values and Social Progress. At the heart of all considerations of social guidance must be social objectives and social values. It is one of the premises of this volume that the next step in social science and social guidance must be a far more concrete and comprehensive study and definition of values. This conclusion has been reached as a result of looking at the social problem from the viewpoint of the several social sciences and social education. Especially is this decision reinforced by an examination of the history of cultures and civilizations, and by our studies of social change and social development. Mr. Sellers, in his introduction to *Bouglé's Evolution of Values*, concludes that there is "a widespread feeling that this angle of approach is as central for the human sciences as measurement is for the classic physical sciences." There is much evidence to indicate both the growing recognition of this need and of actual beginnings of meeting it. We have approached this emphasis in our earlier chapters through the study of the individual, the spirit of science, leadership, and the good life; and we have kept in mind throughout the book objective measurements and standards in the study of the various physical and institutional backgrounds. We now come to consider, in our last two chapters, the bearing of social value upon our quest for social guidance. Manifestly, we shall be unable to define concepts of progress more clearly or to measure its attainment or its prospects except in relation to standards of value. And while it is not possible to make a comprehensive study of so large a subject in this chapter, it is necessary to present some such brief analysis of the subject as we have of progress.

Theories of Value. Professor Cooley has pointed out the fact that progress in the concrete always has reference to recognized social values and that value is synonymous with worth to something—to a person, a group, an institution, a doctrine, any organized form of life. Our standards of measurement, therefore, for structure, function, and relationship must inevitably be conditioned by the search after values. The discovery and development of adequate indices of value must be perfected through many units and aspects of valuation. Probably in the economic field more than in any other has the importance of value been em-

phasized. Economic theory has to a large extent been concerned with theories of value. Economists have distinguished between value in use and value in exchange, and between subjective and objective value. Natural values, market values, and normal values have been considered. Various theories of the origin of value have evolved. Adam Smith held essentially to an objective cost theory of value, whereas Ricardo saw exchange value as dependent upon scarcity and quantity of labor. To Marx, labor was the origin of value; to Jevons, marginal utility was a determiner of value; to Senior, scarcity. The Austrian school of economic thought—the subjective value theorists—emphasized marginal utility as a basis of economic value. According to Marshall value was determined by the equilibrium of demand and supply. And likewise other economists have formulated their theories of the origin, determination and measurement of value. Besides economic values there are religious and moral values. However, each group has its distinctive morality or moral standards, and a study of the various religions would reveal a wide range of values in them. Measures of beauty and of art as typified by the Greek passion for the beautiful have established æsthetic values. In addition, there are intellectual values, political values, social values, and other differentiated group and individual values. Says Bouglé, "Nietzsche seeks to revise the system of values by preaching the gospel of aristocratic hardness. But, before Nietzsche, Rousseau attempted the revolution of the same order by preaching the gospel of plebeian fraternity. There is one table of values for Rabelais, who loves nature, and another for Pascal, whom nature alarms and disgusts. A Proudhon, ever intent on liberty, does not order moral values in the same way as an Auguste Comte, always preoccupied with the restoration of authority."

Other Theories of Value. Anderson, in his *Social Value*, refers to it as a "motivating force." It embodies both a structural and functional aspect. The functional aspect, counting for most in motivating activity, is the more important. The "common denominator" of values is "power in motivation." But, says Mr. Anderson, "every value presupposes a going on of activity. . . . Back of the value stands a long history, which persists into the present in the forms of dispositions and activities, of which we are unconscious so long as they are unimpeded, but which spring

into consciousness at once if arrested." A value is "a quantity of motivating force, power over the actions of man, embodied in an object." Cooley, in *Social Process*, speaks of valuation as a social process. He says that "it is a matter of ascertaining how much the alternatives appeal to you." The three essentials in the conception of value are an organism, a situation, and an object. He also distinguishes between human nature values and institutional values, the one appealing universally to man and the other to a specific institutional system. Value to him has an organic character varying with time, group, and situation. Moreover, value is generated by a mental process working by "suggestion, influence, and the competition and survival of ideas." Urban, in *Valuation*, says that "the value or funded meaning of the object is its capacity of becoming the object of feeling and desire through actualization of dispositional tendencies by acts of presumption, judgment and assumption." There are two aspects of the general theory of value. "On the one hand, we *feel* the values of objects; on the other hand, we evaluate these objects and ultimately the experiences of value themselves." The author speaks of the first as a *process* and of the second as a *function*. Value implies both description and appreciation and a recognition of the "presuppositional" method. "The feeling of value includes the feeling of reality. Appreciative meanings presuppose reality meanings."

Social Value and Social Adequacy. The technical definitions of value just given are samples from a very large number which could be heavily supplemented from the fields of philosophy, religion, and general æsthetics. These examples, together with a few others which are to follow, serve a threefold purpose. They indicate the wide interest, scope, and content of the study of value; they show how the concrete study of value in special fields may be effective and profitable; and they lead up to the whole problem of social values. Thus Professor Commons' comprehensive study of *Reasonable Value* may be used to illustrate all of these points. He says, for instance, that it is necessary, before he can have continuous use of a watch or anything of value, for him to take into account and adjust his behavior to five dimensions of human activity—efficiency, scarcity, custom, sovereignty, and futurity. Each of these has to do with the human will or the wills "of thousands and even millions of people acting in concert or conflict

through governments, families, farms, factories, shops, stores, banks, and markets." He attempts to measure the common quality of all human activity in terms of willingness and holds that the underlying energy of economic science, as of physical science, although it is mysterious may be analyzed and measured. To measure the millions of human wills acting in concert or in conflict is therefore an important basic process for the understanding of value. Professor Giddings' measurement of energies with objective criteria of value found in human adequacy is another good illustration. He interprets human adequacy as the ultimate effectiveness of societal energies, and works out correlations which measure the net values of human society. In concrete terms,

> every human being comes into the world with prepotencies that are inborn (inherited) but which can be conditioned by education and discipline and so made to function within a wide range of possibility and efficiency. Society does the conditioning, but it can affect prepotency only by selection, that is, by killing off certain heredities and conserving others. Adequate men and women, therefore, are men and women who, by inheritance, are anatomically normal, physiologically sound, and mentally able; who by education are informed and enlightened, by discipline are made self-controlled, and by training are made effective; and who, finally, are fecund, reproducing their race, transmitting their hereditary qualities to a posterity which, so equipped with ability, will conserve and increase knowledge, improve education, perfect discipline, and increase the desirableness of life.

Ultimate Values and Social Ideals. In his *Sociology and Ethics*, Professor Hayes has discussed value in terms of the net sum of good human experience; and he attempts to measure value in terms of the five kinds of desire and satisfaction that can be realized in human experience. The first class of good human experiences is *physical*, and "is represented by the comfort of warmth and ease, the exhilaration of muscular movement and the gratification of bodily appetites." The second is *æsthetic*, consisting of the experience of beauty, tenderness, exaltation. A third class of values "is made up of satisfactions that accompany the active exercise of the *intellectual* powers, the satisfaction of interest, the joy of comprehension, the zest of mental application rewarded by perceptions and insights." The fourth group of values consists of the *social experiences;* while the fifth is the

experience which accompanies *one's thought of himself*. In *The Making of the Modern Mind* Professor Randall, discussing social ideals in the growing world, concludes that faith and intelligence are the criteria of value which will determine the future. He says: "Man has to-day a richer store of knowledge, and a more variegated pageantry of aims, than has ever been his possession before. What he will make of them depends upon the course of investigation, upon the working out of great social forces, and upon his own faith and intelligence."

Bouglé's Evolution of Values. Practical interest in these and many other theoretical studies and discussions of value has been accentuated during the years since the great war. Many of the questionings of the period have centered around the quest for a revision of values or an understanding of our present valuation. Bouglé, the French sociologist, in his *Evolution of Values*, has made an excellent study most appropriate to our consideration of social problems and social guidance. Among his special points of emphasis, besides general interpretations, are values in relation to education, morality, science, industry. Values are not so many dead weights, but rather they are magnets which draw to a point all the converging efforts of society. He thinks that the revival of interest in human values is due to the growth of the social sciences, and that this growth is due to the advance in man's knowledge of himself and the world. "We are," he says, "grasping as never before the nature, conditions and settings of values. We see how they function, how they are upheld, how they change." So here, having considered the various types of values,—educational, moral, political, economic, religious,—we shall see how they affect one another and what their relation and capacity may be in the whole telic process of social guidance.

Values, Progress, Guidance. We come again, therefore, to the consideration of social progress and social guidance, partly as revealed in relationships and partly in values. To what extent may we define and measure progress in terms of society's advance in the sure discovery of sound values and its capacity and will to utilize these values for social guidance? Such a concept will automatically help to eliminate many of the common fallacies in estimating social progress. For instance, civilization may not in many instances be synonymous with progress any more than the

excessive physical vigor, energy, and haste of a city population are synonymous with health. Quantitative achievements, such as pavements, streets, skyscrapers, wealth, madding crowds, may need to have their marginal utility point defined in terms of social values. The cult of the intellect may not represent the sum total of value any more than economic utility or religious sanction does. Progress toward the good may not be superimposed suddenly, nor can the tendency toward disintegration be stopped suddenly by frenzied legislation and reaction. Progress is of the essence of time, of process, of change, of technique, of condition, and of direction. What are the factors in this process of progress? What is the part which the spiritual urge of mankind will play in the future? What of the keen desires and heightened feelings and stimulated energies? What about the elements of conflict between persons? Between groups? Between past and present? Between values and realities? How bridge the distance between the past and the future? Between the professional technician in the social sciences and education on the one hand, and the common people on the other? How determine and measure the social qualities as well as traits of intellect and mind? How discover social prepotency or the qualities which will enable society to reproduce itself in terms of its best products? What is the place of the social sciences and education in this social discovery and social guidance? What progress has been made in the social sciences, and what are their obligations and prospects?

FOR FURTHER STUDY

For Information

1. Discuss various concepts of social progress, emphasizing the ones which appeal most to you.
2. Illustrate concretely the phases of progress mentioned in this chapter.
3. What is Professor Todd's classification of the prophets of progress?
4. Appraise the various measurements of progress.
5. What objections do you have to the use of the words social progress?

For Stimulating Thought

6. What is social engineering and its relation to progress?

7. When does a process of evolution necessarily imply progress?
8. How is a study of group values an index to social progress?
9. How has the Chinese situation of 1927 accentuated consideration of social values?
10. How has social unrest of the present era increased the emphasis upon values?

For Research and Creative Writing

11. Write out a critical comparison of this chapter with the earlier chapter on "Society and the Good Life."
12. Make an attempt to reduce the social ideals of American groups, the Chinese, the Indian, the Negro, the white farm owner to a social denominator.
13. Select suitable categories and measure objectively social progress in a given community during the last twenty years.
14. Contrast recent progress in social evolution with that of health education.
15. Illustrate by classified examples how folkways are indices of values.

For Practical Application

16. What are some of the implications of the modern time pressure to social progress?
17. Contrast the "spiritual" expression of modern youth with that of early pioneer days.
18. What are the modern conflicts between material progress and intellectual progress?
19. What are the dangers of modern standardization methods?
20. Illustrate conflict of values in your community.

For Continuity of Effort

21. What educational programs are looking toward a revision of social values?
22. To what extent is science revolutionizing values?
23. How many national agencies can you list that purport to work for progressive policies in America?

24. List local community progress in accordance with the natural divisions of progress outlined in the chapter.
25. To what extent are community service clubs, such as Rotary and Kiwanis, concerned with both progress and values?

For Effective Reading

26. For special study: Bouglé's *Evolution of Values*, Todd's *Theories of Social Progress*, Weatherly's *Social Progress*, Hobhouse's *Social Development*, Huntington's *The Pulse of Progress*.
27. For sampling and exhaustive reading: Abbott, W. C., Aldrich, Anderson, B. M., Blackmar, Bosanquet, B., Burns, Darwin, Dibblee, Goddard, E. H., Hayes, E. C., Hobhouse, Holmes, S. J., Huntington, Jacks, Leighton, Marshall, Morgan, A., Muir, Muller-Lyer, Nasmyth, Noble, Perry, Sellars, Shafer, Spengler, Todd, Urwick, Weatherly, Wells, H. G.

CHAPTER XXXIII

SOCIAL SCIENCE AND SOCIAL GUIDANCE

Functional Social Science. We come now to close this study of man's quest for social guidance with a brief reëmphasis upon the social sciences and with an inquiry into their total relation to society and its progress. What can the social sciences contribute to social value and social direction? What are the prospects for realizing their maximum objectives? What is their relation to the history, understanding, and control of man's whole human backgrounds and relationships? What is their task of discovery? Of measurement? Of guidance? In the early chapters of this volume we emphasized the spirit and method of science and pointed out the availability of the several social sciences for the working out of imminent problems of social guidance. In later chapters we have studied man's quest for social guidance, with his successes, his failures, and his problems; and we have attempted to study, through the various stages of development and changing situations, his efforts to adjust himself to his personal, social, and physical environment. Most of the social problems which we have studied have been products of man's struggle for adjustment, resulting sometimes in invention, creative culture, and achievement, and sometimes in tragedy, maladjustment, and social waste. The coming of the social sciences and the increasing clearness of man's self-consciousness and ability to view himself and his environment objectively constitute new factors which give rise to increasingly large opportunities and a more hopeful outlook for social progress and social welfare.

Complicating Factors. There are also important factors in the modern world which contribute not only to the hopefulness of the outlook but also to the complication of the processes of progress and development. These need to be studied and directed rather than feared. One of these factors is what Professor Beard has called the pitiless reality of the time sense, with which is coupled the idea of indefinite progress and the "continuous con-

quest of material environment by applied science." Another factor according to Professor Beard, is an inflexible technology, a modern and Western Leviathan. Writing in the *American Political Science Review* for February, 1927, he says: "Like time, it devours the old. Ever fed by the irrepressible curiosity of the scientist and inventor, stimulated by the unfailing acquisitive passion . . . technology marches in seven league boots from one ruthless, revolutionary conquest to another . . . offering for the first time in history the possibility of realizing the idea of progress so brilliantly sketched by Abbé de Saint-Pierre at the opening of the eighteenth century." Thus science and technology, which have transformed the world at an unprecedented rate of speed, have also complicated its social processes. There is need, therefore, all the more, for a recognition of the unity of the social problem, for the guidance of physical conquest by the social sciences, and of a greater human and social idealism "to ward off the evils of an indiscriminate application of science itself."

Science and Society. First of all, what is the relation of modern science to society, and what, then, is its basic relation to the social sciences? Professor L. C. Marshall and a special committee working under the auspices of the Commonwealth Fund, in their preliminary unpublished *Statement of Basic Processes in Society* have discussed social processes as three groups of activities. The first is man's operations to modify his *physical* environment, the second his operations to modify his *social* environment, and the third his operations to modify *himself*. It is in this first group of activities that mankind seems to have made the most tremendous strides in the development of the natural sciences and in the translation of scientific knowledge into an effective technology which transforms science into the arts of life. In previous chapters we have from time to time pointed out the large transformations which science has made in the material world and at the end of this chapter we are listing important volumes which tell this romantic story. In this *Short History of Civilization*, Professor Lynn Thorndike makes his forty-second chapter on "The Advance of Science" the capstone of his story. He thinks that perhaps the greatest achievement of modern science is its ever increasing capacity to measure. Man has measured the stars and light. He has investigated the atom. He has developed modern mathematics

into an invaluable tool for the use of all research from medicine to politics. In astronomy, physics, physical and organic chemistry, advance and knowledge have gone beyond the fondest expectations of earlier times. Similar progress in biology, in the study of protoplasm and the cell, in evolution, physiology, and bacteriology, and in the experimental study of heredity have duplicated that of the other sciences. Progress in modern medicine and surgery, in geographic exploration, and in other sciences has been great. In our second chapter we listed some of the estimates for further progress in twenty sciences and their applied techniques. Medicine and surgery, ocean transportation, zoölogy, polar exploration, geology and mining, bacteriology, mechanical engineering, radio, chemistry, electricity, physics, psychology, astronomy, automobile engineering, agriculture, metals, steam and power, meteorology, and mathematics,—each is represented by a prophet who assures us that "the achievements of the past few decades, marvelous as they seem to us, are indeed small compared with what the future holds."

Knowledge of Man and Society. In spite, however, of these tremendous advances in the physical sciences and in man's operations to modify his physical environment, there is evidence to indicate that progress in the technique of applying this knowledge to the arts of living has been the outstanding achievement of the era. Thus mankind has made great beginnings at least in his efforts to modify his social environment alongside the transformation of his physical surroundings. In the same way he has begun and is ready to pursue more vigorously his studies and efforts to modify and develop his own personality and capacities. Professor Thorndike begins his discussion of the advance of science with the statement that "man's knowledge of himself and his fellow men has been tremendously extended in time, space, and intensity since the eighteenth century." He concludes that "science has all the serene courage, inner peace and trained mind of the ancient philosopher, and in addition a vastly broader view over past and present, a much deeper and more solid foundation of measured and classified observation." And he sets as his criterion and guide of the future the processes and activities of progressive science. He further emphasizes the importance of the contribution of the social sciences, and concludes:

The student of historical and social sciences is consequently more open-minded and better balanced than his fellows. If society can be imbued with this attitude, its restless waves of passions, superstitions, harmful habits, idle thoughts, incompetent, unscientific leadership, and woeful ambitions may soon be stilled. Science has already made great contributions to modern industry, communication and comfort, and public health. It has lengthened our days and the years of our lives, enriched our sensations and filled our minds. Science does not exclude art and beauty from our lives, since art is close to nature where the beautiful especially resides, while nothing else reveals nature to us as science has done. Moreover, as a modern theologian has said, "A greater gain to the world . . . than all the growth of scientific knowledge is the growth of the scientific spirit." And as a modern historian of science has said, "The only human activity which is truly cumulative and progressive is scientific activity." It has opened the past to our gaze; it orients us in the present; no better guide can be found for the future destiny of civilization.

Unity of Approach. Certain fundamental considerations are essential to the successful functioning of the social sciences if they are to guide this "future destiny of civilization." Enough of these may be stated briefly to indicate next steps. Perhaps the first and most important of these is the recognition in theory of the unity of approach to social study and of an actual technique capable of understanding, analyzing, and studying social problems together. As Professor Marshall has said, "social living is an organic whole, not a congeries of separate processes. In order to facilitate the exposition of what is involved in social living, it is permissible to analyze it into a series of 'single processes,' but that is and must be an arbitrary procedure. There can be no one 'right' classification of social processes; there are several 'right' classifications, each good for its own purposes." This principle ought long since to have been clear to the social scientist. We may illustrate this in three ways. First, we may cite an analogy from the field of material development. A great city building of more than 100 stories in height, a great bridge, a great highway, or a great electric power plant with its dam and other essentials, constitute each a problem of construction. There is no quibbling on the part of the disciplines of mathematics, of engineering, of physics, of chemistry, of architecture, as to which of these belongs the primary approach. Here there is no "right" classification of

building and construction processes; there must be many "right" classifications, each absolutely essential to the finished structure. And so it is with problems of social relationships. The whole must be analyzed into its component parts in order that necessary contributions to its development may be facilitated. Our second illustration is taken, with permission, from Professor Marshall's side notes, in which he says:

> Thus, political organization is shot through with economic factors. The family has economic, legal, educational, ethical, and religious connotations. The church is linked up with social, ethical, and artistic factors, etc. Nevertheless, for purposes of analysis, the state, the economic system, the family, the church may and must be separated from the rest of the social whole and analyzed as discreet entities. This is a legitimate procedure as long as it is remembered that the dismemberment of the social whole is artificial and is made for purposes of analysis.

Trends and Contributions. We may illustrate this principle of unity a third time by referring to the place of the social sciences in our whole study of human backgrounds and social relationships. Part of this study has been in terms of present trend and tendency, and part in terms of needs and prospects. Retracing to some extent our steps in this volume, let us ask what are some of the trends in emphasis, in knowledge, and in application of the social sciences to the fundamental problems studied. Using, therefore, our original twelvefold classification of social forces and factors, around which we have studied our backgrounds and problems, we may note samples of present tendencies and prospects.

Individual and Social Differences: in the increase of scientific study of racial and individual differences, in the utilization of psychology, sociology, anthropology, social ethics in the study of social differentiation and in certain of the newer movements in government, history, and literature.

Personality and Leadership: in the increasing emphasis upon the study of environmental factors through the newer social geography and history, in the newer contributions of social psychology and of politics, in the large increase of the interest and output in biography and of the social emphasis in literature, and in the large number of studies in the development of personality, leadership, and conflict.

Social Incidence and Social Change: in the broadening of the study of social psychology, economics, and social history, and in the larger efforts of sociology to measure the social process and to understand casual groups. In the recognition of truth and facts as improvements on myth and fiction, in the search after harmony between science and religion, in the study of the unity of social forces, and in the recognition of the fact that social problems arise because of many and related causes rather than from pure accident or divine judgment.

Physical and Biological Backgrounds: in the larger reach of social geography, social biology, and social anthropology, and the coördinating efforts of economics and sociology. In the increasing recognition of the interdependence between peoples and environment, in the application of science to the development of physical environment, in the specialized studies of political geography, in concrete studies of the relation of climate and region to society, and in wholesome studies of evolution.

Primary Groupings Centered Around the Family: in the increasing contribution of sociology, social work, and economics, in the recognition of the structural and functional aspects of marriage, in the emphasis of the scientific study and treatment of problems centering around the family, in effective social case work and social adaptation as an expression of intelligent democracy, in the removal of much tradition and superstition, and in the great advances in child welfare and youth guidance.

The School and Education: in the increasing contributions of the social sciences to the making of the social curriculum, in the increasing emphasis upon social objectives of all school studies, in the broadening of community education and functional curricula, in the enlarged courses and programs of social work in institutions of higher learning, and in the enlarged programs of research and study in the social sciences everywhere.

Religion and Society: in the increasing influence of science and social science upon religion and philosophy, in the revival of the study of world religions, in a greater interest in the social gospel, in a renaissance of spiritual interpretation, in the tendency to eliminate non-progressive formalism, in the contribution of social study to the interpretation of tradition, superstition, and of Christianity as a social force.

Government and Democracy: in the scientific study of social behavior in politics, in the contribution of sociology and social psychology to the study of community organization, in the emphasis upon national and international factors, in the recognition of the importance of sound social policy, of wisely planned social legislation, of an understanding of class problems and situations, of the value of the social expert in government, and of new technique in public welfare.

Industry and Society: in the development of institutional economics, economic and social history, social legislation and social work, in the recognition of the human factor in industry, in progress and understanding between employer and employee, in the increasing recognition of the social obligation of capital, in the efforts of social religion and social ethics, and in the increasing effort to clear up difficulties by means of social study and frank inquiry.

Community and Social Planning: in the contributions of social engineering through the social sciences to social planning, town planning, rural planning, rural and urban sociology, community organization, the concept of international community, and in the larger contributions of social work and public welfare.

Social Waste and Social Justice: in the concentration of the social sciences upon problems of maladjustment, social waste as found in the defectives, dependents, delinquents, thwarted childhood, and economic waste, and in the contribution of jurisprudence, social ethics, social psychology, psychiatry, and general social work to the whole process of social adjustment.

The further discussion of *social science and social direction* as one of our fundamental forces will be continued in this chapter and interpreted in connection with earlier chapters, and especially with those dealing with social planning, social work, and public welfare.

Progress in the Several Social Sciences. In addition to the trends as indicated above in the contribution of the social sciences to the social objectives, there has been considerable progress in the specialisms and techniques within each of the disciplines. That is, at the same time that the social sciences have come to recognize the unity of the attack upon social problems and their need for coördination of effort, they have also developed more

scientific analysis, classification, and precision within each field. We may illustrate this briefly with a simple statement of some of the special phases and techniques of the several social sciences.

In the field of *economics* special groups or "schools" which may be mentioned are those in which emphasis and method tend to be institutional, inductive, statistical, social; while others place chief emphasis upon such objectives as price, value, production, marginal utility, and the deductive method of study. In *political science* it is possible to classify groups according to emphasis upon political thought, political theory, the technique of politics, principles of administration, constitutional law, international law, political parties, local government. In *jurisprudence* tentative classifications would include the historical group, the analytic school, the philosophical school, the comparative school, and those stressing the sociological emphasis. In *social ethics*, too, there has been considerable development, with groups which may be said to emphasize social realization, self-realization, institutionalism, rationalism, and the hedonistic emphasis upon instrumentalism and utilitarianism. In all these sciences—economics, government, jurisprudence and ethics there is considerable new regard to the whole study of human behavior along with their disciplinary techniques. Among the social sciences which have recently made large contributions to social study are *social anthropology* with its evolutionists, diffusionists, ethnologists, racial determinists, and cultural historians; and *social biology* with its students of eugenics, heredity, and environment, racial heredity, and specialists in the study of glands and physical backgrounds of social behavior. *Social psychology*, too, is making great strides in its various preoccupations with personality, mass and group action, social problems and objectives, and racial and anthropological sources. It is perhaps more difficult to classify the advance of the "*new history*." Nevertheless, one might at least find divisions of ecclesiastical and religious, geographic and sectional, natural and constitutional, cultural and social, economic, political and legal history. *Social geography* finds its students in groups who emphasize the ethnological, the historical, the climatic, the regional, the material and economic, the communal, and the cultural. *Sociology* itself is making some advance toward a comprehensive science of society, building upon the old systematizers and social

philosophers and utilizing the data from the other social sciences and concentrating upon method and social problems. Finally, in *social statistics* we have the gateway to objective measurement in all the social sciences, and the rapid growth of the study and use of statistics has been one of the outstanding contributions of this era.

General Progress in the Social Sciences. As means for the development of the social sciences, we have already referred to the scholarly journals. Important also are the professional associations and learned groups: the American Historical Association, the American Economic Association, the American Political Science Association, the American Sociological Society, the American Statistical Association, the American Anthropological Association, the American Psychological Society. Of particular interest, however, is the Social Science Research Council, formed in 1922 for the purpose of coördinating and correlating the work of the social sciences. The Council is composed of three members from each of the social science associations above mentioned, and has a number of interesting subdivisions and committees on social problems and policy, social science abstracts, and scientific method. By 1927 it had, among its advisory committees, those on interracial relations, industrial relations, human migrations, crime, pioneer belts, corporate relations, cultural areas, juvenile delinquency, international relations, and social and economic research in agriculture. Of special significance have been two annual informal conferences at Hanover, at which representatives of the social sciences have come together to discuss technique, methods, substance, limitations, plans, prospects, and to get acquainted. There is, therefore, this very promising twofold development of the social sciences, the one showing capacity for concrete analysis and subdivision of fields for the purpose of exhaustive study, and the other the tendency to coördinate and correlate their work into a unity of approach to the study of social relationships and social guidance. Alongside these positive tendencies there is also a striking increase in resources, organization, and interest through the enlarged appropriations for colleges and universities, through the availability of funds from foundations and grants, and through the popular attention which has been aroused throughout the land.

Needed Adjustments. There are, however, a number of prob-

lems yet to be worked out in the development of the social sciences. Alongside their increasing emphasis, resources, and study of social problems is also the large factor of conflict, mass impulse, and reaction to which we have already referred. One of the most important tasks, therefore, of the social scientist is to bridge this distance between scholar and ordinary man, a theme which we have discussed at length in our chapter on "Education and the Adult." A similar need is for what we have called the discovery of the people by scholar and technician. In the scientific sense it is necessary not only to measure peoples in terms of population, classes, numbers, social, and economic conditions, but also to discover their total genetic relations and powers, their social reaction, and their capacity for social processes and achievement. The distance that separates institutions and technicians from the people is due to,—besides the factors of unselected groups and individuals,—differences in education, in experience, in opportunity, to the power of tradition, to the blighting influence of the political and ecclesiastical demagogue, to the limitation of social technique, to inadequate social leadership, to the normal rise of specialisms, to the multiplication of knowledge and social tools, and to other differences incident to rapid social and economic change. Furthermore, the social scientist and professional technician have a knowledge of the situation entirely inadequate to the opportunities and obligations of the present era. They therefore fall short of their capacity for social guidance and direction and seem unable to diagnose the present social situation. In addition to having inadequate equipment in knowledge and data of experience the technician is sometimes inclined to be dogmatic, denunciatory, narrowly personal, or to rush into action or advice prematurely, thus contributing much to misguidance as well as something to guidance. There is, therefore, need most of all for a period of descriptive research in limited and thorough special units which however encompass the whole of social data. The world can very well afford to wait for results from such study.

Other Tasks. We have already referred to the opportunity of the social sciences to contribute to a better concept of social values. One problem of the social scientist is to discover and learn how to use what we may call a *social denominator* in the approach to the study of human relationships. In the "discovery of the people,"

for instance, or in the study of the Negro, or of the great mass of common people, or of labor, judgments and programs must be based upon sound policies worked out on fair comparison of backgrounds, resources, and abilities. Again, the quantity measurement of value must be reduced to its social implications. Likewise, the cult of intellect must be interpreted in terms of the relation of intellectual capacity to energy, character, and social prepotency. The social scientist must needs, therefore, work for a long time with a view to discovering and developing methods of social testing analogous to the accepted method of mental testing; and he must somehow direct his science toward the measurement of a social prepotency which will enable society to reproduce itself in each succeeding generation with more and more of the normal and good and less and less of the abnormal and weak. The social scientist must remember that his science is, after all, *social*, and that he must direct his energies toward the study, measurement and direction of social forces, no matter what their genesis, nature, or strength may be. Race prejudice may be the worst and most undesirable of social forces, but the social scientist must, as a scientist, understand its place in the social process. Mass-minded action, ignorance, and maladjustment are forces in the long process of evolution, and there can be no justification of the social scientist's ignoring them on the one hand or rushing headlong toward the attempt to "reform" or eliminate them on the other.

Educational Sociology. Other limitations of the social scientists have included their inability to understand and use contributions, organizations, and techniques other than their own in the larger unity of social study. For instance, the political scientist, the historian, the sociologist, the psychologist have been slow to recognize, coöperate with and help to develop further a strong technique of social work, although the profession of social work is necessarily one of the most effective means of utilizing the gains of social science. The scholarly political scientist and the professional social worker have alike ignored the technique of governmental responsibility for social work and the relation of this responsibility to the democratic ideal. In much the same way many representatives of each of the social sciences have failed to keep the open mind toward other social sciences and their contributions. There

remains, therefore, the very important task of utilizing the social sciences in combination as a sort of educational sociology to determine the social capacity of civilization. In the same way that educational psychology has attempted to use the contributions of psychology to determine the educability of the individual and to promote his broader instruction, so in a larger way the social sciences, utilizing the results of their research and the development of society's institutions, must seek to determine the educability of the race and better methods for its social development. This is the larger educational sociology or social program through which each generation, utilizing its science and its institutional programs, may hope to achieve a little more than the preceding one.

Man's Quest for Social Guidance. In the search, however, for this larger program it is of the utmost importance that the spiritual forces of desire and thought and the social incidence due to products of change which come from time and relational development be not overlooked. For the sweep and power of the human spirit, of desire, of thought, and of idealism and all the things that men live and fight for must always constitute a chief force and a larger setting for social progress or social decadence. Here, again, the social scientist must recognize, measure, and give due place to these forces in the whole social process. In *The Making of the Modern Mind*, Professor Randall quotes Bertrand Russell's estimate of the spiritual as the key of wisdom. For, he says, "by contact with what is eternal, by devoting ourselves to bringing something of the Divine into this troubled world, we can make our own lives creative even now, even in the midst of the cruelty and strife and hatred that surround us on every hand. . . . Wisdom and hope are what the world needs; and though it fights against them, it gives its respect to them in the end." And, similarly, concerning thought, which he pictures as looking unafraid "into the pit of hell . . . . It sees man, a feeble speck, surrounded by unfathomable depths of silence; yet it bears itself proudly, as unmoved as if it were lord of the universe. Thought is great and swift and free, the light of the world, and the chief glory of man." And we must not forget the fact that the more complex the civilization and the more rapid the change, the greater backgrounds there will be for social tension, emergency, and incidence.

Social Guidance and Social Reform. Materials for the further consideration and study of this whole problem of the social sciences and social guidance would easily contribute to the making of many books. In this chapter we have attempted only to present the picture with enough of classification and substance to make an adequate introduction to the subject. There remain two other considerations, one of caution and one of promise. First, the student must be warned to recognize the contrast between adequate social guidance and impatient, headlong social reform. The temptation to launch out into intemperate reform and compulsory social adaptation is not limited to the unlettered and emotional masses. Arbitrary reform, imposed from above on an advanced, complex civilization, and passing downward through impetuous legislation, or withdrawn from warmer human contacts into the cult of intellect and idealism, may be scarcely less scientific and less sound than the popular ruthless passion to make all the rest of the world conform to the misguided prejudice of a restricted place and time. Professor Giddings has cautioned well, in *The Scientific Study of Human Society*, when he places confidence in the scientific minds of the future:

> In the course of time they come to know more about the world than anybody else does, and they discover more ways of making it a comfortable place for men to live in than other folks have discovered. But oddly enough, the more they learn, the less impatient they seem to be to make everything over by direct action. In particular they become doubtful of the wisdom of drastic experimenting upon human society. They want first to see and be sure *what else* is likely to happen when an existing balance of interests or forces is upset.

The Promise of Social Science. Finally, therefore, we must not overlook the twofold nature of social science, the one relating to its method, precision, and dependability and the other to its comprehensiveness and objectivity. If one of the concepts of human progress, as Lester Ward has said, is found in society's "slowly shedding the primitive error," then also we may well consider his other statement that the mission of social science is to do away with error. Or, as Professor Giddings would put it, our work is scientific and pragmatic. Important discoveries in the field of social science must be followed by their utilization in

the social education and direction of the individual and of the race. These considerations ought to be as effective in the practical programs of social guidance as they are in its theoretical backgrounds. Again quoting Professor Giddings, "It ought not to be necessary at this late day, but it is necessary, to tell the general public that science is nothing more nor less than getting at facts, and trying to understand them, and that what science does for us is nothing more nor less than helping us to face facts. Facing the facts that the physical and biological sciences have made known to us has enabled us to live more comfortably and longer than men once did. Facing the facts that the social sciences are making known to us, and will make better known, should enable us to diminish human misery and to live more wisely than the human race has lived hitherto. In particular it should enable us to take the kinks out of our imperfect codes of conduct. It will be discovered one day that the chief value of social science, far from being academic, is moral."

FOR FURTHER STUDY

For Information

1. Illustrate Professor Thorndike's estimate of the greatest achievement of modern science.
2. To what extent has the student of the social sciences an opportunity to be more open-minded and better balanced than his fellows?
3. What are two important trends of the modern social sciences?
4. What are some of the chief subdivisions of each of the social sciences?
5. What are some of the chief limitations of the social sciences?

For Stimulating Thought

6. We have listed modern social research as an asset; what are some of the dangers of research methods?
7. What are some of the dangers of the modern movement for correlating the social sciences?
8. To what extent may the scientific method be used in the study and appraisal of religion?

9. The 1927 annual meeting of the American Sociological Society will emphasize the relation of the individual to the group. Make a list of topics for papers.
10. William D. Tate, in the March, 1927, *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, presents a study of "The Menace of the Reformer." Discuss.

For Research and Creative Writing

11. Show how the several social sciences may be used in the working out of a problem of, let us say, juvenile delinquency.
12. Jeddu Krishnamurti has published in March, 1927, a little volume *The Kingdom of Happiness*. He discusses intuition, enthusiasm, personality, experience, great men, mind, sacrifice. Describe the part which these forces have played in the lives of some economist, historian, political scientist, sociologist.
13. Trace some American movement such as the farm bloc, the Ku Klux Klan, the renaissance in interest in the Negro from its genesis in casual groupings to its maximum growth.
14. Write the story of the anti-cigarette movement.
15. From Mr. Howe's *Causes and Their Champions*, analyze the methods employed by the eight reformers there mentioned.

For Practical Application

16. Illustrate the use of the social sciences in the planning of New York and its environs.
17. From the viewpoint of the school curriculum, what are the social objectives of each of the social sciences?
18. How may the social sciences contribute to the modern movement of adult education?
19. Professor Thorndike thinks that science's largest contribution has been its achievements in measurement. Illustrate with a community, a business project, a custom, how social phenomena may be measured.
20. Discuss the phrase "scientific humanism," and if it is not satisfactory, make a substitute for it.

For Continuity of Effort

21. List local, state, and national groups or committees now working on the development of the social studies.
22. Make a list of books used in elementary and high schools for the teaching of the social sciences.
23. Compare the number and ratio of courses given in the social sciences in the modern college with those in the humanities and the natural sciences.
24. What are the broad outlines and purposes of the Social Science Research Council?
25. Make a list of outstanding American leaders in each of the several social sciences.

For Effective Reading

26. For special study: Sumner and Keller's *The Science of Society*, Giddings' *The Scientific Study of Human Society*, Odum and others' *American Masters of Social Science*, Barnes' *History and Prospects of the Social Sciences*, Whitehead's *Science in the Modern World.*
27. For sampling or exhaustive reading: Barnes, H. E., Bernard, Bogardus, Caldwell, O. W., Castle, Chaddock, Chancellor, Chapin, F. S., Cunningham, W. H., Curtis, W. C., Dunlap, Giddings, Gruenberg, B. M., Haldane, Harris, F. S., Hobson, Judd, Lindeman, McIver, Pound, Rivers, Robinson, J. H., Ross, E. A., Schneider, Small, Veblen, Whitehead.

CHAPTER XXXIV

TYPE STUDIES OF LITERATURE AND SOURCE MATERIALS

A Book List of a Decade and a Half. A complete bibliography on the subjects encompassed in this book would itself make a large volume. We have, therefore, selected more or less arbitrarily a period of study covering the years just before the World War until the present time. The list of books which follows, therefore, is a sort of type study of the output of books in the general field of social problems for that period. This does not mean that the list presented here is exhaustive. A study of the records of the publishers for fifteen years, as we have presented it for the last two years in our first chapter, would show an approximate list of 10,000 volumes. The present list is selected, rather, with a view to the special classifications and apparent application to the subjects studied in this volume.

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Type Studies of Books.

1. Classify the books in the above list in accordance with the twelvefold division of social forces as listed in Chapter I of this volume. Many volumes will be listed in more than one group. From this classification discuss the subjects which seem to hold chief interest.
2. In the above bibliography a few volumes such as Karl Pearson's *Grammar of Science*, or Cooley's *Social Organization*, published prior to 1912, have been listed. Continue this bibliography of books, classified according to the above emphasis, prior to 1912.
3. Make a similar list of books of fiction in which the social emphasis is of special significance.
4. Make a special list of books on biography, classified variously according as they emphasize different personalities in education, public life, literature, or case studies of the "bad man," the criminal, the hobo, or delinquent youth.
5. Other special lists might include a large increase in the number of books on economic-social problems or on political-civics themes.
6. Make a study of the best sellers for 1925 and 1926 and compare it with the best sellers for 1906.

Type Studies of Current Literature. Read Bain, writing in the March, 1927, *Social Forces*, makes an analysis of the articles in the *American Journal of Sociology* and *Social Forces* over a four-

year period. He finds that for the *American Journal of Sociology* and *Social Forces* the following ratios of articles devoted to each of the several subjects: Personality 3 per cent and 2 per cent; family 10 and 9; peoples and cultures 21 and 4.6; conflicting groups 1.8 and 7; community 7.3 and 12.5; institutions 4.5 and 22.0; social process 22.7 and 21.5; pathology 11.8 and 9.7; methods 0.9 and 5.7; general sociology 35.5 and 14.0.

7. Make a similar study of articles in other learned journals in economics, political science, or social work periodicals.
8. Make a similar classification of articles in the popular periodicals, such as are listed in Chapter I.
9. Work out a fairly comprehensive bibliography of articles in the general magazines for the last ten years.
10. Make a study of the contents of the *Atlantic Monthly* and *Harper's* for 1926 and compare it with the contents of the same periodicals for the year 1896.

Type Studies of Organizations, Agencies and Other Sources.

11. List and give membership of the learned societies devoted primarily to the social studies.
12. Make a study of national organizations devoted to social research.
13. What are some of the educational and research foundations whose principal resources are devoted to social science and social work?
14. Make a study of the chief national organizations devoted to social work.
15. Classify state and national governmental agencies from which source materials for social study may be obtained.
16. List American journals and periodicals published within each of the several disciplines of anthropology, geography, history, government, sociology, economics, ethics, jurisprudence, biology, psychology, statistics, social work.

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